

# ALAN BIBLE: RECOLLECTIONS OF A NEVADA NATIVE SON

## THE LAW, POLITICS, THE NEVADA ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE, AND THE UNITED STATES SENATE

Interviewee: Alan Bible

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### Description

Alan Bible was born in Lovelock, Nevada, in 1909. He has had a long, distinguished career in state and national politics. A protege of Senator Patrick McCarran, Bible was successively district attorney of Storey County, deputy attorney general of Nevada, attorney general of the state, and United States senator. Overshadowed in Nevada history by flashier talents such as those of Pat McCarran and Key Pittman, his career as a United States senator was twenty years in duration. It is generally believed that Senator Bible would have been easily re-elected if he had chosen to run again in 1974. He was well respected by his Senate colleagues, and by voters of Nevada.

Senator Bible is a highly likeable, rather self-effacing individual. He slides over issues, and does not speak too critically of anyone. This was a matter of policy with him, and it became part of his political style. "If I can't speak well of a person, I will not speak ill of him," he states in his oral history. There are many examples of this habit of his. Typical is the reference to the Civil War as the "misunderstanding" between the states. There were also, he assures us, the "misunderstandings" between the Pittman and McCarran wings of the Democratic Party. According to Bible, when he was attorney general of Nevada the legislators "were all very nice." He reminisces about Earl Warren, the controversial chief justice as "always with this great big smile on his handsome face."

This surface blandness appears to be more a matter of policy than softness. People do not survive, and even prosper, in the political thicket as Bible has done without developing sharp powers of observation and an awareness of human frailty. There is considerable testimony to Bible's acuity. His observations of Senator Patrick McCarran, a man he knew well, are measured with cool professionalism. Only a perceptive observer could have picked up on some of McCarran's little political devices such as coming into a meeting at just the strategic moment. If there was to be a series of speeches, McCarran would insist that the others lead into his. He would arrange to have a small claque applaud during and after his speech. Bible notices these little tricks and comments on them.

There is also a darker, more introspective side to Bible's character, although he does not always let us see it. After his surprising defeat by Thomas Mechling in the 1952 Democratic primary he felt ashamed of himself and even thought of leaving the state, which luckily he did not do. Bible accurately believed his defeat resulted from his not having worked hard enough, and from having been too confident of victory. He analyzed his mistake, learned from it, and never repeated it.

This oral history is a primer on how to get ahead in Nevada politics. Very important to Bible was doing little favors for people. "I always had one guiding rule, which I hope I more or less met, and that was trying to help people." He tells us of other methods for political success—his belief in the value of debate and public speaking in education,

*(Continued on next page.)*

## Description (continued)

how he valued and used his fraternity and university contacts, the importance of friends, the usefulness of his association with McCarran, and how he belonged to “practically every lodge in the world.”

Bible’s memoir is particularly valuable for its revealing look into Nevada politics from the 1930s to the 1950s. The capstone of his career was his two decades as a United States senator. Yet the senator is more discreet when he discusses his activities—a certain veil is drawn over the period. Even here, however, some fascinating things come up. It was Lyndon Johnson who changed Alan Bible’s mind about running again in 1956. Particularly illuminating is his great admiration for Senators Wayne Morse of Oregon and Ernest Gruening of Alaska, the only two men in either house of congress to vote against the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. These two men were totally unlike the gentle and team-playing Bible, but there was something about them and their independence that earned his deepest respect and regards. Perhaps he wished he had been more like them.

Alan Bible was on the inside of Nevada politics for forty years. He is shown in this oral history to be conscientious, wise, and discreet. This work of his fully merits attention and study.

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AND THE UNITED STATES SENATE**

An Oral History Conducted by Mary Ellen Glass  
March 1977 - May 1979  
Edited by Mary Ellen Glass

University of Nevada Oral History Program

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## PREFACE TO THE DIGITAL EDITION

Established in 1964, the University of Nevada Oral History Program (UNOHP) explores the remembered past through rigorous oral history interviewing, creating a record for present and future researchers. The program's collection of primary source oral histories is an important body of information about significant events, people, places, and activities in twentieth and twenty-first century Nevada and the West.

The UNOHP wishes to make the information in its oral histories accessible to a broad range of patrons. To achieve this goal, its transcripts must speak with an intelligible voice. However, no type font contains symbols for physical gestures and vocal modulations which are integral parts of verbal communication. When human speech is represented in print, stripped of these signals, the result can be a morass of seemingly tangled syntax and incomplete sentences—totally verbatim transcripts sometimes verge on incoherence. Therefore, this transcript has been lightly edited.

While taking great pains not to alter meaning in any way, the editor may have removed false starts, redundancies, and the “uhs,” “ahs,” and other noises with which speech is often liberally sprinkled; compressed some passages which, in unaltered form, misrepresent the chronicler's meaning; and relocated some material to place information in its intended context. Laughter is represented with [laughter] at the end of a sentence in which it occurs, and ellipses are used to indicate that a statement has been interrupted or is incomplete...or that there is a pause for dramatic effect.

As with all of our oral histories, while we can vouch for the authenticity of the interviews in the UNOHP collection, we advise readers to keep in mind that these are remembered pasts, and we do not claim that the recollections are entirely free of error. We can state, however, that the transcripts accurately reflect the oral history recordings on which they were based. Accordingly, each transcript should be approached with the

same prudence that the intelligent reader exercises when consulting government records, newspaper accounts, diaries, and other sources of historical information. All statements made here constitute the remembrance or opinions of the individuals who were interviewed, and not the opinions of the UNOHP.

In order to standardize the design of all UNOHP transcripts for the online database, most have been reformatted, a process that was completed in 2012. This document may therefore differ in appearance and pagination from earlier printed versions. Rather than compile entirely new indexes for each volume, the UNOHP has made each transcript fully searchable electronically. If a previous version of this volume existed, its original index has been appended to this document for reference only. A link to the entire catalog can be found online at <http://oralhistory.unr.edu/>.

For more information on the UNOHP or any of its publications, please contact the University of Nevada Oral History Program at Mail Stop 0324, University of Nevada, Reno, NV, 89557-0324 or by calling 775/784-6932.

Alicia Barber  
Director, UNOHP  
July 2012

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## INTRODUCTION

Alan Harvey Bible is a Nevada native, born in Lovelock in 1909. He received his education in Fallon, Churchill county, and graduated from the University of Nevada in 1930. Under the patronage of Nevada Senator Patrick McCarran, Bible attended Georgetown Law School, graduating in 1934. On completion of his work there, Bible returned to Nevada to practice law. Almost immediately, he became interested in politics, a career he would follow for more than forty years.

Mr. Bible became the district attorney of Storey County in 1935, deputy attorney general of Nevada in 1938, and attorney general of Nevada in 1942. As attorney general of Nevada, Mr. Bible was responsible for important opinions on gambling control and for Nevada's part of the successful completion of the Colorado River adjudication case.

Leaving the attorney general's office for a private career in 1950, Bible again became involved in politics in 1952, when he lost one of Nevada's classic primary elections in the race for U.S. Senator. He recouped that defeat in 1954, when he won the electoral

decision for U.S. Senator; this began a long and exceedingly productive career as Nevada's representative in the national legislature.

As a U.S. Senator, Bible was responsible for some of the nation's most important legislation concerning outdoor recreation and public lands. His service in the Senate was concurrent with that of other outstanding public figures, with whom he associated closely. Senator Bible retired from his national service in 1974, with a career full of honors and achievements. Professor Jerome Edwards's introduction evaluates the Senator's accomplishments and political career.

When he was invited to participate in the Oral History Program, Senator Bible accepted graciously and readily. He was a pleasant and careful chronicler of his life through sixteen taping sessions, all held in the Oral History office in the University of Nevada-Reno Library between March, 1977, and May, 1978. Senator Bible's review of his memoir resulted in no substantive changes in either the text or the language.

The Oral History Program of the University of Nevada-Reno preserves the past and the present for future research by tape recording the recollections of people who have been important to the development of Nevada and the West. Resulting transcripts are deposited in the Special Collections departments of the University libraries at Reno and Las Vegas. Senator Alan Bible has graciously donated the literary rights in his oral history to the University of Nevada, and has designated the memoir as open for research.

Mary Ellen Glass  
University of Nevada-Reno  
1982

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## SPECIAL INTRODUCTION

Alan Bible has had a long, distinguished career in state and national politics. A native son of Nevada, protege of Senator Patrick McCarran, he was successively district attorney of Storey County, deputy attorney general of Nevada, attorney general of the state, and United States senator. Overshadowed in Nevada history by flashier talents such as those of Pat McCarran and Key Pittman, his career as a United States senator was nonetheless twenty years in duration. It is generally believed that Senator Bible would have been easily re-elected if he had chosen to run again in 1974. He was well respected by his Senate colleagues, and by the voters of Nevada.

Senator Bible is a highly likeable individual, as well as a rather self-effacing one. His tendency in this oral history is to slide over issues, and not to speak too critically of anyone. This, of course, was a matter of policy with him, and it became part of his political style. "If I can't speak well of a person, I will not speak ill of him," he states in this oral history. There are many examples

of this habit of his. Typical is the reference to the Civil War as the "misunderstanding" between the states. There were also, he assures us, the "misunderstandings" between the Pittman and McCarran wings of the party. According to Bible, when he was attorney general of Nevada the legislators "were all very nice. He reminisces about Earl Warren, the controversial chief justice as "always with this great big smile on his handsome face".

Yet this surface blandness appears to be more a matter of policy than softness. People do not survive, and even prosper, in the political thicket as Bible has done without developing sharp powers of observation and an awareness of human frailty. There is considerable testimony in this oral history to Bible's acuity. His observations on Senator Patrick McCarran, a man he knew well, are measured with cool professionalism. Only a perceptive observer could have picked up on some of McCarran's little political devices such as coming into a meeting at just the strategic moment. If there was to be a series of speeches, McCarran would insist that the

others lead into his. He would arrange to have a small claque applaud during and after his speech. Little tricks, and Bible notices, and comments on them.

There is also a darker, more introspective side to Bible's character, although he does not always let us see it. After his surprising defeat by Thomas Mechling in the 1952 Democratic primary he felt ashamed of himself (p.206), and even thought of leaving the state, which luckily he did not do. Bible accurately believed his defeat resulted from his not having worked hard enough, and from having been too confident of victory. He analyzed his mistake, learned from it, and never repeated it.

This oral history is a primer on how to get ahead in Nevada politics. Very important to Bible was doing little favors for people. "I always had one guiding rule, which I hope I more or less met, and that was trying to help people". He tells us of other methods for political success—his belief in the value of debate and public speaking in education, how he valued and used his fraternity and university contacts, the importance of friends, the usefulness of his association with McCarran, and how he belonged to "practically every lodge in the world" (p.335).

Senator Bible's oral history is particularly valuable, it seems to this observer, for its revealing look into Nevada politics from the 1930s to the 1950s. The capstone of his career, of course, was his two decades as a United States senator. Yet the senator is more discreet when he discusses his activities in this body. A certain veil is drawn over the period. Yet even here some fascinating things come up. It was Lyndon Johnson who changed Alan Bible's mind about running again in 1956. Particularly illuminating is his great admiration for Senators Wayne Morse of Oregon and Ernest Gruening of Alaska, the only two men in either house of

congress to vote against the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. These two men were totally unlike the gentle and team-playing Bible, but there was something about them and their independence that earned his deepest respect and regards. Perhaps he wished he had been more like them.

It is good to have this oral history from a public figure who was on the inside of Nevada politics for forty years. Bible is shown to be conscientious, wise, and discreet. This work of his fully merits attention and study.

Professor Jerome E. Edwards  
Department of History  
University of Nevada-Reno  
1982

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## FORMATIVE YEARS

### PARENTS AND FAMILY BACKGROUND

I suppose the proper place to start is where it all started. And it really all started in the little community of Lovelock, Nevada, where I was born on November 20, nineteen hundred and nine. At that time Lovelock was a part of Humboldt County and did not become Pershing until oh, I guess, '12 or '13, something like that. And another real example of the way we govern ourselves in our state and in this nation of ours—the people of Lovelock during that period of time felt that they had very little to say in their own county government because the county seat in Humboldt County [was] Winnemucca, Nevada. So those that had dealings with the county officers had to travel that long seventy miles, as it really was in those days, to Winnemucca to transact their business. With the highways of today it's a little over an hour's run, and there's some people who question today the advisability of two county structures with their more or less parallel governments, but that's a matter for the determination of

this generation and of the good people of Lovelock and of Winnemucca. So officially it was Lovelock, Humboldt County, Nevada; it was November 20, 1909.

I was born to Jacob Harvey Bible and his wife Isabel Welch Bible. Now my father was born in—he first was a merchant, a grocery merchant in Lovelock. His store was where the Turrillas bar is today on the corner of the main thoroughfare through Lovelock. He came to Nevada several years earlier than that coming back from California, and from California from Ohio. He was born in Lima, Ohio, and on his death he was seventy years of age. Harrison Bible was his father, my grandfather; and Harrison Bible was born in Rockingham County, Virginia in the little German community of Germantown—Harrison[burg] Virginia, in July—July 5, 1835. He in turn was the son of Christian and Mary Bible, who were likewise born in Virginia.

When I first went to Washington many people inquired about my parental background and where they were born, my

genealogy. And frankly up to that time I'd paid very little attention to it. My mother and dad had never told me too much about it. My mother had given me a better background of my history than my father had. And she was more or less the custodian or the historian, probably a combination of both, of our family histories and of her own family history.

My father—developing my father's genealogy as best I know it, and as I've pieced together and researched it over the years when I was queried on it after I had been elected a United States senator —out in the West I don't think most of us pay too much attention to it except where we know our grandfathers, our grandmothers and grew up with them, and they stay close to home. This was true of my mother's folks, but it was not true of my father's folks. Therefore, I've had to put in the pieces of his history together as best I can from what I've researched after I went back to Washington. I went back to Washington December 4, nineteen hundred and fifty-four. And so it wasn't until then that columnists and researchers and writers and historians all started querying me about my genealogy, and that's what prompted me more than any one thing to start this research, and I've tried to develop it over that many years. And I think I have a fairly complete background of each, my father and my mother, as well.

As I said, my grandfather, my paternal grandfather, was Harrison Bible. He was born in Rockingham County, Virginia and in Harrisonburg, Virginia, in a little subdivision of that town called Germantown in 1835. He had resided there 'til he was twenty-two years of age, and he then went north into Ohio. And the "misunderstanding" between the states broke out, and he enlisted in April 1861 in Company G of the Sixteenth Ohio Volunteer Infantry. And he was discharged from that after a short service, then he reenlisted in the

same year in Company I of the Fifty-first Ohio Volunteer Infantry. And he was honorably discharged from that in Indianapolis, Indiana in the fall of 1864. He later located in Perry Township, and he married a Sarah Good with whom he lived until her death. In 1866 he came to Bath Township, and that was where my father was born—just a short ways out of the present town of Lima, Ohio. So he was a "Buckeye," as they're favorably called—that name has stayed with those born in Ohio right down to the present.

On the death of his first wife, he remarried a Sarah Greer, who was the daughter of Joshua Greer, who was a pioneer of that area. By this marriage they had six children: namely Moses, Joshua, Allen, Prank, and Harvey and John, as appears in the history of Allen County, Ohio. The name Harvey is my father's name, and he was a twin with John. His given name was Jacob Harvey. The history uses him simply as Harvey. When he came to Nevada he kept the name Jacob and was known all of his life as Jake.

My grandfather and my grandmother were members of the Protestant Methodist Church, and I grew up as a Methodist. I never particularly knew why, but undoubtedly my grandparents' religious preference had something to do with the choice that was given to me, and I grew up in the Methodist church in Lovelock, Nevada.

One interesting item, one which I have commented on because we can look at it rather objectively here in the West, I think, and look at it a little differently than those who were so close to it, is the fact that—(my father told me this story; this is a firsthand story). And he told me that his own father, my grandfather, who had joined up on the Union side during the Civil War, the war that I've always characterized as the "misunderstanding" between the states—(But I used that in a

speech at one time in the Washington area, and I used it in Alexandria, Virginia. And a number of those in the audience, I forget what kind of speech it was, but there was a goodly audience there probably seventy-five or eighty that day. A number of them came up and said, "You've got this completely wrong—this wasn't a misunderstanding between the states, it was the attempt of those damn Yankees to take over the South, and they were the aggressors: we simply had to fight for our lives." The feeling even then—this would go back, oh, this would be maybe ten years ago, fifteen years ago when I made this speech—the feeling at that time was still intense; and it even now, well over a hundred years after the Civil War, you can find many instances if you go into the South, particularly into Georgia, of that same intense feeling. And of course the motion pictures and the "tube" have emphasized the sensational parts of the war. And there was much pillage and burning and killing, unnecessarily so, that comes about out of any war. It's a pathetic and tragic commentary on our history, but it's a simple, true fact of life. And there's ill feeling as of today in 1977 to some degree, but thank goodness it's getting closer and closer together, and we all hope and pray that that continues. There's many examples of it.)

Anyway, my grandfather came out of the Confederate side of the "misunderstanding" and went north and joined the Union side. And my dad told me that he went home on one occasion, and that his—he had brothers alive and sisters alive—they simply took him and turned him around and pointed him north and said, "You damn Yankee, you Yankee lover, you just go back and don't stay." He never went back, and the family broke up. So that's an incident that I can take out of my own immediate family, which happened many, many times through the people—the

Yankees and the Confederates. Many families did break up in similar manners and never went back to each other again. And I think this is an authentic story and an accurate story 'cause it was told to me by my own father taken from his own father, so it was pretty immediate.

In any event, my grandfather, according to my dad, never returned back to Harrisonburg, Virginia where he was born—where his family still can be found. I never knew my paternal grandfather nor my paternal grandmother. I've known a couple of my uncles, my father's brothers; and one of them came West and died not too long ago in Fallon. But that—see, my father just ran away from home, came out into California to—he was gonna make his fortune in gold and silver, and so he went down there. He went into California first, and then he drifted back into Lovelock, Nevada. Now the first job that he had in Lovelock, Nevada, as he has told me, was milking some twenty-six cows for a man by the name of Frank Fuss; and the Fuss family is extremely well known in Lovelock. He worked for Mr. Fuss for a good many years. (Mr. Fuss has made many contributions to Nevada and to its history, and [they are] a very distinguished family. And I've known most of them personally. I did not know the senior Mr. Fuss; he passed away, but I knew his oldest son Frank Fuss, who was a banker in Lovelock with Charlie Jones for many, many years.) But he worked for Mr. Fuss for a number of years; then he struck out on his own, first looking for gold and silver. He was tied into the gold and silver days of Rochester and into Vernon, and he followed mining his entire life.

As a matter of fact I still have five mining claims of my own in my name. So the gold and silver mining still is in my blood; I started out in Virginia City which was one of the greatest gold camps of all the world. The claims that

I hold are with very distinguished Nevadans, and we hold 'em—twenty-five or -four of us hold these claims. One of 'em is Furio Dondero, who is a very, very colorful Nevada-born individual, getting elderly now, still alive now, but we've always been associated in mining together. He has a quarter of interest in this—these five mining claims located over in the Ruby Hills of Eureka County. The other partners are retired General Dale Smith, whose father was "Long Tom" Smith, a very wonderful individual with whom I was associated when he was state engineer of the state; and the fourth partner is Hugh Shamberger, who also was the state engineer of the state for many years.

The claims *we've* held, as the four individuals, have always been very helpful to us because they're patented claims, and we pay a small amount of taxes on them each year as you do on patented claims in Nevada. And it makes a legitimate income tax deduction; so that's been the benefit of our mining claims in Nevada. We've never made any money on them; we sold part of the claims. They were first the thirteen—we had thirteen claims, and we called 'em the "Lucky Thirteen." And we sold eight of them to a large mining company, which went in and explored and attempted to develop them (I think it was some Canadian company, but ultimately private) in Eureka and the Ruby Hill mining district. And of course the great problem there was the water and the high cost of pumping the water, and they were never able to do it, so the mining company just had to abandon their project. It's rich, I think—so I'm told—in lead zinc particularly and carrying some silver, but the economics have never been worked out; it might some time in the future. We certainly hope so because Eureka has had the fine mining past and probably will have another one some time in the future.

So, following my father's inclination toward mining and taking a risk, I've always held some mining claims. I've held 'em all my life, and I still have five now. I keep telling anybody who keeps talkin' about mines if they'd like to buy a one-fourth interest in a mining claim, I can arrange it very reasonably. I don't seem to have either the wealth or the wisdom to continue to hold 'em too much longer. I think I'll just give them to my sons, and they can handle them and say they own mining claims. But the beautiful part about it is they're patented, and everyone knows there's nothing you can do with a patented mining claim. It's the best title you can get. And many of them go to sale every year at tax sales by various counties, and there's no way that one can acquire or buy a patented mining claim without condemning it or acquiring it through some type of a court order. So they're—the titles are good, so I had an interest in the mining claims on which I can guarantee the title without fear. And this is always valuable in a state where titles do get mixed up in the mining history of our state, and a book could be written about it, and a story could be told about it.

So, my father—I want to just pursue my father's history just a little bit further—he was a merchant and had a grocery store in Lovelock, located, as I've indicated earlier, in what is now the Turrillas building in Lovelock. And he ran that for quite a number of years. In the meantime, he thought that he could diversify and have a ranch as well, so he bought a ranch in the upper Lovelock Valley, and he later gave up his grocery store and went to farming again. I guess basically that was his niche in life was to be a farmer or a miner, and—but he had to have a grocery store to probably finance both enterprises. But he had this ranch in the upper valley in the Fairview district.

Some of our neighbors at that time were the Biddleman's, as I remember, and the Sebbases, and there're still Sebbases in that area. And I don't know whether there's still Biddlemans or not. There were Loorzes, who lived right next to the Fairview school.

I started out in the lower grades in the Lovelock school, and after my dad's purchase of the ranch in the upper Fairview district, I went to the Fairview district probably for the third or fourth or fifth grades. I know I rode a horse about a mile to get to the school from where our ranch was. It was, as I remember it, a two-room, eight-grade school with the first four grades in one room and the next four grades in another room. I think we had two teachers at that time. And so I went to that school until we moved to Fallon, Nevada in about nineteen hundred and eighteen, as I remember.

The events that caused our moving to Fallon are rather dramatic. We had gone to the motion picture show in Lovelock on this particular evening. I can't even remember the time of year, but it was a good movie, and we enjoyed—. My brother was with us at that time. So there were the four of us returning in—and my father had an automobile, and we were returning in an automobile, and we noticed the northern skies were beautifully lit up. It was a great display, and this was the time of the year when the aurora borealis could be seen as far south as Nevada; and we thought it was the aurora borealis. The closer we came to our home, which was about six miles out in the Fairview district—I think it would be about six miles from the center of Lovelock and from where the show house was—it dawned on us that the aurora borealis was our home! So it was a great spectacle to watch. Obviously there was no fire company up in that neck of the woods, and the closer we got, the more distressed we all became.

And I was just a young lad. I guess I was—let's see, '18—I was about nine years old, and I can still remember very vividly. And my mother, of course, was very distracted; my father was getting more so as we got closer to the fire, but when we got there, there was nothing there. It had been burned to the ground, and we had the neighbors around us. They had tried to carry some buckets of water from irrigation ditches to halt the spread of the fire, which is all they could do, but it burned to the ground.

And I can remember one thing very clearly now and have retained a vivid impression of it all my life—I was eight or nine years old, something like that, at that time. And I guess one does remember those things much better than we remember things that happened eight or nine days ago. So after the fire completely was extinguished and put out, I can recall how fine the neighbors were. They brought us dishes and set us up in a new housekeeping setup, and it was the spirit of the times. And there wasn't anybody that didn't give us something to try to set us up. We had the clothes on our back, and that was it.

The particular distressing thing was that my mother, who was, as I've indicated earlier, was the historian in the family, lost all of her letters and valuables and the things of that kind. And she did lose some very fine diamonds that had been given to her by her father over the years, and we sifted the coals. We had the impression then—and I have it now, though I don't know whether I'm right or wrong in it—that diamonds wouldn't burn and they'd withstand any type of heat. But in any event we sifted coals for days—I can still remember that. My mother was heartbroken of course.

And that was the main thing that led to our going to Fallon, Nevada. An offer came up from some early farmers in—first the Fernley district and in the Fallon district who ran

what they call Peoples Brothers, which was a grocery store. And my father, having been a groceryman, seized the opportunity of buying a store there. That was the real reason for our moving to Fallon, Nevada, which we did in 1918 or 1919. I entered the fifth grade there and finished the grammar school in Fallon and on into the high school and from there up to the University of Nevada.

On my mother's side of the family, her name was Welch, Isabel Welch. She was born in Unionville, Nevada. And she lived to be seventy-seven years old. Her father, as best I've been able to trace it, was born in Brechin, Scotland, and he was a—I was given to understand, at least I thought I was given to understand by my mother that he was a professor at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. She was of Scotch-Irish ancestry. And my wife and I visited Edinburgh several years ago. I made it a point to try to trace that down, but didn't have much luck in ever finding a Welch—his name was Robert, Robert Welch—who was a professor at the University of Edinburgh. And so whether—where I got this impression is beyond me because it was my definite impression.

My mother was born in Unionville, and later moved to Lovelock where her father, Robert, had a small ranch just outside of Lovelock. And she graduated from the school system of Lovelock. She came into the university of Nevada, and finished two years at the University of Nevada. She then became a schoolteacher and was a schoolteacher when my father married her in nineteen hundred and nine.

And she was one of a family of about six or seven. She was the only girl, and as the only girl, she was the historian of the family. And with the fire—that's why I mention the fire—it wiped out that history. So, much of this is just really put together from my memory.

She had a good accounting of it, but she's passed on; and by the time I got interested in this genealogy and history, she had left this world and was obviously no longer available to me to give me that information. My father preceded her in death—oh, some four or five years earlier. And so my two main sources were gone, and very few other people are available to me now to piece it together. So that is just kind of a thumbnail sketch of my mother and father, not adequate to do them justice, which they deserve.

The name Bible is, number one, a rather intriguing name; and I've had many questions asked about my derivation, where the name comes from and my ancestry. The name Bible is basically a German name. It is derived, as I understand it, from German and originally was Biebel, which in German means book or *the book*. And it's easy to see how that later turned out to be called Bible.

When my father's people came into this country, they were first Biebel, and then later on it became Bible, as it has remained over the years and as it is now. I've often said, and this is something within my own memory and my own knowledge, is that when I was in high school in Fallon, Nevada, I was known as "New Testament," and then later on when I came to the University of Nevada and was going here as a student, I was named "Old Testament." And I've often said in many of my political talks and visits with people throughout the state of Nevada, that since those days of being called Bible and "New Testament" and "Old Testament," I have been called practically everything else. [Laughs] It's always been good for a bit of a laugh in whatever type of an audience I'm talking in front of, and of course the name is frequently commented on.

I've asked genealogists to study it, and they've done this both through the Library

of Congress and through the archives and through the various more records that are available, attempting to piece it together and put my background in some type of logical perspective. My best letter that I think I have ever developed as a result of this study, is illustrated in a letter that I wrote to my aunt on May 25, 1966, which is fairly contemporary (still some eleven years ago). And this was written to Ethel Welch, who was married to my uncle Will Welch who would be my mother's brother. She was a lifetime resident of Winnemucca, Nevada; she in turn was born in Unionville the same as my own mother was. And this, as far as my genealogy is concerned, is what the letter said:

Also, as I told you, I've almost completely [explored] my father's history and genealogy. I next want to do the same thing with my mother's. Mother, of course, lost all of the family history and heirlooms when her home burned in the upper Lovelock Valley, but she would from time to time tell me certain parts of the family history. I foolishly neglected to reduce it to writing, and my memory is very hazy on some phases of her family history. I knew, of course, that her father was Robert Welch. He was born in Brechin, Scotland. My best source of information insofar as the Welch history is concerned is my second cousin, Annie Welch, who lives at 1227 North Eighth Street in Estherville, Iowa. She is supplying me with much useful information. I was under the impression that my mother's father, Robert, had been a professor at the University of Edinburgh, but Cousin Annie tells me she has never heard of this. My grandfather, Robert

Welch, was born on October 14, 1842, and as you know he died in Lovelock on October 15, 1912. He was married to Agnes McIlrey (and that's M-c or M-a-c—I'm not clear as to which—Ilrey—McIlrey M-c-I-l-r-e-y). Agnes was born on October 26, 1858, and died on March 16, 1889. There were, I believe, six children from this marriage. The oldest was your husband Will, although I do not have his birthdate; the next oldest was my mother Isabel, who was born in Unionville, Nevada, on the seventh of March, 1883. Next was Robert Welch, who was born on August 16, 1886, and then John Welch, who was born in June of 1889. Following John was Murray Welch born in October, 1891. I believe the youngest was Andrew who was born in May of 1893.

My grandfather, Robert Welch, had two brothers. One was James Welch, who lived in Ireland, and the other was Alexander Welch, who was in the nursery and seed business in Coldstream, Scotland. I believe in addition to these two brothers he had several sisters. One was Jane Welch, who married George Murray, the manager of the British museum. Another sister married a Wadsworth, and I believe at one time he was the editor and the owner of the London Gazette. I'm sending you herewith a recent letter which my second cousin Annie Welch wrote me and which has considerable genealogical information of interest. I'm indebted to you for telling me about Agnes McIlrey, and that her people came from Auckland, New Zealand, and that she was born while enroute between New Zealand

and Australia. I remember now that my mother told me of correspondence with some cousins in Auckland, New Zealand, but I have neither the name nor the addresses. I've questioned whether they were children of my grandmother's brothers or sisters. For your further information, Uncle Will passed away in Winnemucca although I do not recall the exact date. My mother died in Reno, Nevada, on April 22, 1959. Robert Welch passed away on November 9, 1952. He was in Company B-1 in World War I. John passed away in July of 1914. Murray passed away in March of 1907, and Andrew died January 24, 1965.

This accurately reflects the history of my mother's brothers, and I've researched this very thoroughly, and they all lived in the Nevada area, so it was not too hard to check that. I've not had that much success with the history of my father and his brothers, though strangely enough on both my father's side and my mother's side practically all of the children were males, and very few girls happened to come along to either the Bible family or to the Welch family. My mother was the only one of a family of six who was a girl, and my father was one of six or seven brothers, and there were no girls in his immediate family. And I think that's somewhat worthy of note.

I still have a number of first cousins living in Lovelock and Winnemucca, and undoubtedly a great number around the Ohio area where my father was born and grew up. I mentioned one first cousin whose name was Leo, and some years ago he sent me a very interesting newspaper clipping which heralded with great joy the fact that his twenty-sixth grandchild was born in the Lima general hospital. And he thought

it set some kind of a nationwide record of having twenty-six grandchildren born in the same community and delivered in the same hospital. So he sent that to me with the traditional family pride, and I still have that. So I do have first cousins in both Ohio and in Nevada.

#### **EDUCATION IN LOVELOCK AND FALLOON**

I was born in Lovelock, Nevada and started out my schooling there. I started school in the downtown school in Lovelock when I was—I think the earliest age at which you could go to school at that time was probably six years of age, and I did go to the first grade, second, maybe the third grade in the downtown Lovelock grammar school. I always had a very definite recollection of being given a bicycle in—oh, when I was I suppose in the second grade, and I was riding this down the main street of Lovelock—Lovelock wasn't too big then, it isn't too big now—and I passed my teacher walking on the sidewalk and I was riding a bicycle, and I thought it would be gallant to tip my hat to her. And so I attempted to do that and with my clever bikemanship I took a horrific fall and spun in and was very embarrassed when I was on the ground looking at my teacher. She was kind of smiling at me and condoning my strange behavior; but it didn't turn out to be too good an exhibition. I never tried to tip my hat to a school teacher again while riding on a bicycle!

I made rather good grades, as I recall it, and I think because my grades were fairly good, they skipped a grade. I think it was in the first grade, and then they figured I should be advanced a little faster than my years, so they put me into the third grade, and then I finished the third grade. And about that time we moved onto the ranch up in the upper

valley in the Fairview district, and I started as I best recall it, in the fourth grade of the little two-room school of the Fairview district, which is oh, four or five miles, something like that, north of the city of Lovelock in the area where I went for two years until we moved to Fallon. I rode a horse to school every morning about a mile or a mile and a half, and it was in the Fairview district. I think there are still some of the ranching names that were still there when I grew up in that period of time.

I went to school there for a couple of years, and then we moved to Fallon where I entered Oats Park grammar school in the fifth grade. My first teacher there at Oats Park grammar school in Fallon was Erma Bendle, who later married Robert Weed. And they are to the best of my knowledge still alive.

And one of the interesting incidents that I recall in either the fifth grade or the sixth grade, was that I was chosen on a debate team to discuss the two earthy questions of that particular period of time which would be in the 1918 or '19 range, and one question which was frequently debated on that level of debate was "Resolved, that Abraham Lincoln was a greater man than George Washington." It was a thrilling topic of the day, and I don't recall now which side I was assigned. But nevertheless I think that's probably the roots of my public speaking because I've been on debate teams, have been publicly speaking in practically every institution I've gone to from that time right down to the present really, because it has been a background and a very helpful background in seeking public life. And in discussing and making graduation speeches, I've always urged people to take public speaking; not to make them a politician or to lead them into public life—though I've always urged people to do that—but it gives them a little confidence in themselves and

whatever meeting they go to maybe they're able to stand up and express themselves just a little better. I think it's very valuable training, and I hope that the lesson can be left—out of this oral history—encouraging most people—as many as possible to take public speaking and debating. You may make no political use of it in the future, but whether you're going to a PTA meeting, or a town meeting, or a county commissioners' meeting, or a city council meeting, or wherever your expressions are given, I think it will stand you in good stead. I found it did me. And that was my first actual public baptism in debating back in the fifth grade in 1919 or '18, somewhere in that era, and I was in the fifth grade at Oats Park grammar school in Fallon, Nevada.

One of the most colorful of my teachers at that time was a very, very famous woman, Laura Mills, and Laura Mills was teaching at the grammar school there. I think she must have held the all-time, all-time record for teaching because she spent a career in doing it. She was devoted to teaching; and she loved the outdoors, had written many fine books. And I could identify—as I recall it—she was a fairly good artist. I believe she taught me painting, which I had barely passed at any one time, and also instructed in drawing, which I barely passed at any one time. I think she taught penmanship, as I recall; and I must say that I barely passed that at any one time as my handwriting still shows. These are early recollections of teachers. I have a definite recollection of Erma Bendle. I have a very definite recollection of Laura Mills. She passed away just a short time ago, and made countless contributions not only to the Fallon area in Churchill County, but I think to the state at large. She was that type of a dedicated woman and a brilliant woman. The Mills family has played a tremendous part in the development of Fallon.

Our principal at that time was E. C. Best who was a great educator, who became the principal of that school for years and years. And one of his sons has followed that same profession. I believe he became the principal at Yerington and has spent his career almost as long as his father in the actual teaching. Another one of his daughters Elizabeth, married Dr. Sawyer whose brother was Grant Sawyer, who was the governor of the state for two full terms and one of Nevada's most distinguished citizens. So these are early people with whom I was very closely acquainted, but I salute Mr. Best. He was always a very lean man, never fattened up during his entire life. Present-day diets and suggestions on how to keep fit would not apply to him because he knew how to do it in his own right. He raised a great family; and he had a great, great teaching record. So, I want to pay special tribute to him on the educational side of my school life.

So I went to Oats Park grammar school and graduated from that school in nineteen hundred and twenty-two. And went from there as a freshman to the Churchill County High School from which I graduated in 1926. There I encountered the greatest teacher or instructor that I've ever had, whether it was in the grammar school level, or in the high school level, or the college level, or the post graduate level and that was George E. McCracken. George E. McCracken was a great disciplinarian. I'm sure that he'd be shuddering wherever he is today at the way the discipline of the system has fallen down. He was known as a strict disciplinarian. And it's to him that I think I owe my greatest debt of gratitude for instructing in debate and public speaking. He was my debate instructor for the full four years of high school level. And at that time between 1922 and 1926, I eagerly sought his advice on many, many of

the problems that I had during that period of time. And he was loved by students who knew him best. He was a graduate of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. He came West as a comparatively young man, started teaching there in Churchill County High School, and it was there that he met Olive Culpitts. And they gave birth to two daughters. I believe those two daughters are still alive. I haven't seen them in a number of years. I used to see Mr. McCracken many, many, many times after my graduation, saw his wife many times after that.

Now again as a disciplinarian and as a man of great dedication, a man of powerful voice himself and a great instructor, he really taught me more about public speaking and about debating than any man under whom I've ever studied. And he held the respect generally of the community. He didn't hesitate to use his discipline to the fullest extent. Sometimes that got him in trouble with the fathers and mothers of the community, and after a period of time they managed to prevail upon the board of trustees to change him and not renew his contract as a principal. And I think that's one of the saddest mistakes ever made. He tolerated no monkey business.

I was a classmate of some very interesting people over my school years, and among my classmates was a young man by the name of Pat Sanford who left his imprint not only on the Fallon area, but here in Reno where he was extremely well known in later life. One of the interesting incidents was that during our junior-senior dance in about nineteen hundred and I would think about twenty-five or twenty-six, he thought he would liven up the dance a bit by bringing a burro on the floor of the gymnasium, which he did and that immediately led to a three-day suspension. And he was not with us for the next three of four days during the period of the suspension.

Pat Sanford was a brother of Les Sanford who was also a very influential man in the life of the Reno community and a very highly successful businessman, a great leader in the Masonic lodge; and it was ironic that the two brothers met death in an airplane accident in the Tonopah area some years later. Pat was more or less the reckless, devil-may-care individual, much of which he retained all of his life. Les was a very conservative and proper and very business-like individual. And many people wondered why he would have gone on this airplane with his brother on that particular day because there were some storm warnings, and probably they should not have even taken off. But they did. And I think there's one of the brothers still alive, Johnny Sanford, who has followed the gaming industry for many years and likewise had made contributions to this community as well as to the Fallon community.

Among the athletes of the day, there was probably none any more famous than Jim Bailey who's one of our great football, basketball and track stars of the time, who later became the same type of an athletic star at the University of Nevada, who has taught and held coaching positions and is still here in the Reno community.

I was a contemporary with Lem Allen, who served probably the longest time of any one man as the postmaster of Fallon; whose father before him, Lem Allen, Sr., was a great racehorse man, and who raised terrific racehorses. And Lem Allen is still alive, and I think he's back with raising racehorses himself now that he has retired.

There were other teachers, too, who made their impact in various places. Among the others was Earl Wooster. Now I believe I'm correct in stating that Earl's first place of teaching after graduating from the University of Nevada was in Fallon. There was also

another fine young woman teacher there by the name of Adele Clinton, and later to become Mrs. Earl Wooster, and made many—many contributions to not only to the Fallon area, but to the Reno area for many, many times. Wooster High School is named after Wooster here in Reno, and he spent a full career in teaching and going into special work in the education field after he retired as an instructor and principal.

Noble Wait was another of our great stars in college days. Later on he came to Fallon, married a Fallon girl, Harriman girl, and spent a career in teaching young people, particularly in athletics. He's since passed on, but he leaves a fine family. These are all contemporaries in either the teaching field or the student field during the days in Fallon.

I've had the occasion and was lucky enough to win the Nevada State Oratorial Contest in about 19—I guess it was about nineteen hundred and twenty-four, twenty-five—and was selected to represent the state of Nevada at Los Angeles. It was a very, very interesting experience for me. I shall never forget it. I was the lone representative of the state of Nevada, the Nevada state oratorial winner. And it was a contest that was entered into by—the state of California had about twenty-five entries, as I remember, and Arizona, which had one or two, and Nevada, which had one, and I was that one. There were a great, great number of judges. There must have been ten or twelve judges that judged the final contests. And we went to the Los Angeles area, and the contest was held in one of the high schools there. I think it was Hollywood High School. And there were about ten—twelve entries, something like that and representing many of the schools of the area. I don't know how it was structured; I don't remember how it was structured 'cause it has been fifty years ago—but California

probably had about oh, ten or twelve entries, Arizona one or two, and the state of Nevada I was the sole entry.

We orated and gave our best, and they totaled them up. The contest was won by a Gregson Bautzer, Hollywood High School, who later went on to USC and became a highly successful lawyer. As I'm relating this, to the best of my knowledge he's still alive. He's been one of the primary lawyers representing the movie industry of that particular area. Second place went to a man by the name of Herb Wenig who went on to Stanford and became a very distinguished professor there and a lawyer—not only a professor at Stanford, but a lawyer in that particular area. And the third prize went to a little colored girl. This was about the first time that I can remember active participation by colored people in the debate area. I've never followed her since that time, but she was outstanding as her placement shows. I—whatever the number of contestants were—whether it was fourteen or fifteen, ten or twelve, whatever, I just don't remember—I had the great distinction of coming in dead last. And my heart was broken, and I went back to Nevada, went to Churchill County High School and to Fallon, and here I came back as the tail end winner of the oratorical contest. And that bothered me for a period of time. I think it gave me some much needed humility and took some of the cockiness out of me—which is a good lesson that you get in life.

Later on as I developed, I became acquainted with a Judge Coleman, who was Ben Coleman from the South, either Alabama or Mississippi. And he was the judge of the Nevada State Supreme Court, and I found out in getting to know him in later years that I received at least one vote for Nevada. He voted for me for first place. And so that gave me some consolation after carrying the

wounds of coming in dead last for those many years. Carl Dodge followed me several years after that, young Carl Dodge—Carl Dodge, Jr. —now a state senator, and followed me from Fallon some years after that. I don't remember exactly when, and he not only won the Nevada contest, but he came in either first or second in the contest in Los Angeles. So Nevada improved its position as it went along.

In the Fallon debate days, my debate partner for a long time was Mary Kay Morris [Mary Katherine Morris Bell]. She went on to Stanford, graduated from Stanford with high grades and there unfortunately in an automobile accident lost one of her eyes and had some problem with her eyes for a number of years. She overcame that and received her law degree and went and married a man by the name of Bell. And the two of them joined in the practice of law in New York City. Later on I think she went into one of the biggest and most influential of the New York City law offices; and the last word I had from her, she was a tax expert—tax lawyer—and had done remarkably well, a remarkable woman in every sense of the word.

I think among the political offices that I held at Churchill County High School, I was the president of the freshman class. I was very active on the debate team. I worked with the theater there, and they developed some high school plays. So that all gave me training and background that I much needed in later life. So, Fallon bears not only a sentimental spot in my heart, but a very realistic lesson of some of the problems you run into when you get on a platform. So I shall always cherish, as I do, the Fallon memories. I later on became the student body president of Churchill County High School (that would be in nineteen hundred and twenty-five), and served as the student body president. It was a very enjoyable experience and again was

movin' me closer and closer to politics and to government, and I suppose something that has stayed with me all of my life.

They've had many, many distinguished graduates of Churchill County High School as well as many, many distinguished instructors and professors. I commented on a few. I think of all the young men and women with whom I went to school, probably the most brilliant of all of them was a young man by the name of Claude Winder. He was not only a neighbor of mine within the limits of the town because it wasn't too big, but we graduated together, went all through the University of Nevada together. He became a very distinguished chemist. He taught for many years at the University of Michigan in advanced work and became a—I think he was with one of the big industrial firms there for awhile and has undoubtedly as I think back and maybe—maybe there's some of the period of the times—it comes back to remind me that I thought he was the most brilliant young man I had ever met. His grades I think were never less than A-pluses, and you just can't really do better than that. That would be translated in today's grading, as I understand it, into probably a straight 4.0 throughout his high school. He studied hard; he was a hard worker and he carried the same type of grades in the University of Nevada where he graduated as I did in nineteen hundred and thirty, and went on to this spectacular scientific career. And he's made many achievements in the area of science. I haven't seen him in a number of years, and I don't know whether he's still alive or not, but I assume he is. There's still cousins of his in the Fallon area. But he's one that always made a great impression on me.

Probably the closest friend during all of that period of time and a friendship which I've carried all of my life, was with a Melville D. Hancock. His father was C. H. Hancock,

and they had a ranch in the Harmon district. And Mel and I went through the Oats Park grammar school together. We went four years together in the Churchill County High School. We graduated together and came to the University of Nevada in nineteen hundred and twenty-six. We both joined the same fraternity, Lambda Chi Alpha fraternity, here in Reno and went through four years of university life together. At the end of that time we secured an old beaten up jalopy and spent about oh, four or five months just barnstorming around the United States and went to all except a few of the states. It was a junket in every sense of the word. We earned and saved up enough money to make the trip, and back in those days we traveled very reasonably, and we always happened to have a few relatives in places that we went, so we made all except a few of the deep southern states. I don't think we got into Florida or to Alabama or to Mississippi or into Louisiana. We did get into Oklahoma, so we circled the entire United States and stayed at our fraternity house and with his relatives and my relatives. It was a good, broadening experience. After that we each went to Washington, D.C., went together, and entered Georgetown Law School. We were then in the very depths of the Depression, and his father had in the meantime moved from Fallon to Reno where he became a highly successful contractor, building contractor, and a business which Mel inherited on the death of his father and still maintains it and has nurtured it and continued to see it grow. He builds as beautiful a home, I think, as anyone does in the entire Reno area.

Anyway, that friendship that started out in the fifth grade at Oats Park grammar school has maintained and very closely over all of these years. And he had one year to Georgetown Law, but we were, as I say, in the

depths of the Depression; and at that time his dad simply had to have his help back here, so he returned as he should to Reno and did not follow up and finish his law school training. But I don't think there's any question in the world, but what he did just as well or maybe better in the construction business and contracting business than he would have as a lawyer, though he would have made an extremely fine lawyer.

I graduated from Churchill County High School after my Oats Park graduation; I early on determined that I wanted to go forward. I think I was always smitten with the law, primarily because having grown up in my dad's grocery store and having had to report to work about six-thirty or seven in the morning and finish about six-thirty or seven at night, I thought there must be some easier way of makin' a living. [Chuckling] So I think that kind of motivated me to be become a lawyer. And so, many people have said, "Well, where did you first get the idea that you wanted to be a lawyer?" And I suppose that was a combination of circumstances that combined, more or less pointed me in the direction of a law career. So, when I left Fallon in 1926 and came out to the University of Nevada, shortly after that I pretty well determined what I wanted to be, and I took the courses at the University of Nevada that were prelegal in nature. I think my primary major was economics and business, but I took political science and all the allied courses of that time which lead to a background of as much law training as you could get at the University at that time. So when I left Fallon I had a pretty definite feeling, a pretty definite determination that I would attempt to become a lawyer.

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## UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA LIFE

Now, picking up my University days—I'd always been close to my own mother and father and always very close to Fallon and never traveled very much up to that time in nineteen hundred and twenty-six when I graduated from Churchill County High School in that year and came up to the University of Nevada. I was rather a lonely country boy. I stayed my first year with Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Hancock (mother and father of Mel Hancock, a very well known, successful Reno citizen who went into the building business and has made his mark in that field). I stayed with them the first semester on Lake Street in their private home. It was just up the street from the Phi Sigma Kappa fraternity house.

And during that period of time Harry Frost and [Raby] Nig Newton and Buck Farnsworth were members. Harry Frost—I've mentioned his name once, I'll repeat it again, because he was my college idol. He was student body president at the time that I came here. He was a star on the football team. He was a very slightly built man, and

he captured my imagination. I've always been a close friend of his since those hero-worship days of mine.

That was the first year at the University, and I did not pledge immediately to any fraternity house. But finally a man by the name of Dr. Fred Anderson took me over to the then Kappa Lambda house which was on University Terrace then and now, and I visited with them there. Seemed to be a little more to my liking and maybe to my taste and upbringing, and so I pledged to Kappa Lambda house and then moved in there as I recall in my second semester at the University and lived there in the house, 255 University Terrace, for the full tenure of my college career.

The social life there was very similar to what most of the fraternities had. Of course they had a very, very strict sanction of "tubbing" which was the vogue of the day. And since I lived on Lake Street and just one house removed from where the Phi Sigma Kappa house was at that time, I used to hear some of the cries that came forward when

they were tubbing some fraternity brother, or pledge, who had violated some type of rule and that convinced me then and there that the house was a little too rough for me, and so I finally pledged Lambda Chi Alpha.

Now Mel Hancock who had been always a traveling mate of mine through high school days, into our college days, did not move because his mother and father had moved from Fallon to Reno where his dad went into the contracting business. And so he lived with his folks during those college days, but was always to our fraternity affairs and was very, very active in the fraternity. There were many names that come back to me as I think back on those days. In that particular class, among the ladies in the class was Enid Porter who later became Enid Newell and is still in this area. Margaret Baird married one of the Lamb boys. I don't know where she is now, frankly. Bill Ligon, one of the most successful of the graduates of that era of time is one of the leading bankers, citizens in the Reno area. He has two sisters who are here, so they've stayed on. Gretchen Cardinal was a classmate of mine. She later went on to marry Tip Whitehead, a well-known name in Nevada circles, very fine athlete, very fine educator. Paul Richards was another classmate of mine—Dixie Richards as he was known during those periods of time. And they're among the names that come back. Tom Wilson was in that era and was a Sigma Nu, as I remember—later to have the Wilson's advertising agency—married Ina Winters, and they had two wonderful children, one of whom happens to be a law partner of mine (state senator at the present time) Spike Wilson, and very prominently mentioned as one of the real possibilities of being the next governor of the state of Nevada.

Grant Bowen was another classmate of mine. In fact we took the Nevada bar together

on—were the only two admitted back in April—I think it was April 2, 1934 we were admitted as lawyers. He has since been a highly successful district judge, a position that he still holds with a great deal of honor. One of my dearest friends over the years was Ed Semenza, a highly successful businessman in the Reno area and the real founder of the Little Theatre in the Reno area and himself a very fine actor. But those friendships have ripened over the years. Probably one of my dearest friends of that particular group was Jake Lawlor, a very dynamic, colorful and picturesque coach from the University of Nevada, himself a fine athlete within the field of football and of basketball. When I first went to Virginia City as district attorney, Jake Lawlor was the athletic coach for Storey County High School, and "colorful" best describes him. He could come out fighting on the drop of a hat, but he fired his own players up to go along with him; and he had some great successes.

Paul Gemmill—in a different light—was the distinguished mining engineer, later became and still is the secretary of the Nevada Mining Association, position which he's held for some years now, and one of the most brilliant of the mining men in our state. Wally White was another classmate of mine, both a classmate and a fraternity brother, and he has been in the public eye for many years. I think he just recently retired from a very responsible position up at North Lake Tahoe. Those are a few of the names that came back as we reminisce in this oral history.

Among the professors, the president of the University was Walter Clark when I entered. One of my professors was Professor Feemster who taught me political science, who was one of the colorful—again I'm using the word in a little different sense than I used it with Jake Lawlor—was one of the "colorful" professors

and was always known—and probably remembered—because he had a goat farm just a little north of the University of Nevada. And I've lost track of him over the years. He was an interesting professor. He was one that could very easily be sidetracked by questioning from the students, and we frequently did try to sidetrack him, and most of the time successfully, on unrelated subjects when they did not have the lesson for the day.

Jennie Wier taught me history and was one of the real pioneers in the teaching of this state and an excellent teacher. C. C. Smith was one of my professors, and Prof Hicks was. Charlie Haseman was another and came here as a mathematics professor, very distinguished looking gentleman and a very, very fine professor. Dean Thompson, the father of our very distinguished and really outstanding federal judge Bruce Thompson, taught me logic and taught me philosophy during my college days. And from him I learned—one thing was to be accurate and to listen and study carefully. I can recall one incident when he would finish teaching, and he'd ask the class if they understood what he was saying. They'd say, "Yes, I do," and we'd all kind of unanimously agree to that and raise our hands, those that said they understood.

And he says, "Well, if you do understand it, stand up and tell me what I told you." And that was always the best leveling influence I think I've ever seen in teaching a class because if you did understand what Dean Thompson was teaching you, or what any other professor was teaching you, you should be able to explain it back to him, but half the time it'd just be an automatic approval, thinking you'd get by with it and then he wouldn't catch you up. But he did; he could read human nature extremely well.

One of the colorful coaches of the day right here at the University of Nevada was

Buck Shaw, and I took physical education under Buck Shaw, and he was an easy professor because he didn't make you take those five laps around the track as did another equally colorful coach, Doc Martie. Doc Martie was a real disciplinarian. I was scared of him from the time I first met him until I got to know him a little better in later years, but when he roared out his command to take another lap around the track, he just wasn't kidding. And he taught physical education, too; I think it was in my second year, and we had gymnastics and we had to jump over the hurdles and all that. And I was never any athlete and so I signed out of that one into tennis at the earliest moment. And I took considerable ribbing about it, but at least I didn't think I was going to break my neck. I signed out to join Chet Scranton who was the tennis coach during that particular period of time.

Those are just a few of the professors that you encounter in memories and incidents that you can recite about them. I thought then and I think now that Nevada was very, very well staffed in the teaching line and in the coaching line. Among the coaches and one who had considerable influence on me was Bob Griffin, who was the debate coach at the time, and he'd come out of either Oregon or Oregon State. And I think I studied under him for about three years. I made the debate team, and we debated up and down the Pacific coast over a long period of time. He continued teaching at the University of Nevada and developed many, many debate teams and debate coaches. And he was a fine speaker himself. And one of the earlier tricks that we played on him as debtors in his class was in working up the subjects, and we always worked up both sides of whatever the debating subject might have been or was assigned. You'd always get into some stumbling blocks, and you'd go to him.

Once you knew his general makeup and his kindness, you'd go to him with a plea that you couldn't quite understand the real issues, the questions, and you just wondered if he could help you a little. And if you approached him correctly (and probably the timing had something to do with it), he'd end up if not completely writing your debate speech, at least almost the major portion of it. But he was, I think, as fine a debate coach as I've ever studied under, and he produced many, many people under him that later on became highly successful lawyers, a profession in which the ability to speak means a great deal. So, I want to salute him as one of the real strong leaders and strong instructors in my life that helped me so very much in whatever success I might have had in the future years.

Coming as I did from Fallon, half scared of the University and half scared of being away from Mother and Dad, I repeatedly went home on every weekend or every other weekend to visit with them. And that habit prevailed until about I suppose my sophomore year when I became a little surer of myself, and my mother and dad often remarked that I wasn't coming home as frequently as I had. And I suppose it's the development in all youth as you move along your educational path. And so I suppose I had the same type of an experience. Be that as it may, though, I might have gone home every week or other week during my freshman year; I'm sure that lengthened out in my sophomore and junior and senior years.

I seemed to get caught up in many of the activities of the University. I was a member of the Lambda Chi Alpha fraternity; it was the Kappa Lambda at that time, and went national during the time I was at the University and went into Lambda Chi (which is its present title), and has produced many, many men who are active in the public life of the state. Among

my classmates was Charlie Russell who was the governor of the state and a congressman of the state. Another was Cliff Young who was a congressman and state senator, now serving as a state senator. I've often reminisced over the years, it's rather coincidental that Charlie Russell and Cliff Young and myself were born in the same block in Lovelock. The little community of Lovelock, and all three of us had varying degrees of success with a political career; and interestingly enough, two Republicans, and I was the lone Democrat. Pete Echeverria was a Lambda Chi, one of Nevada's finest lawyers and finest orators and finest after-dinner speakers.

I served on the political scene as the ASUN treasurer in my senior year—the student body treasurer. The president under whom I served, president of the student body, was Carol Cross from Sparks, whose father was very active in politics. And Carol has followed a newspaper career with great success, and I still see him frequently. He is presently stationed in Vallejo and has been the editor of the Vallejo newspaper for a number of years.

I was pledged to Blue Key during my junior year and as well as to Coffin and Keys, both rather well known college service organizations and still very active as such on the campus level. I was always very active in Clonia which was a debating society. And among some of the classmates with whom I debated I remember [Ernest S.] Ernie Brown extremely well: a man whom I ran against for my first term for U.S. Senate, and a man unfortunately who passed away too early in life. But he was a brilliant man, a self-made man, and a great inspiration to me though we were on opposite political sides, but I think it's illustrative of a fact that in Nevada particularly, that no matter what one's politics, when the partisanship of the

immediate race is out of the way, you all have one overall objective and that's to try to help Nevada. And no one did a better job of that than Ernie Brown. I salute him because of the achievements he made, and the same is certainly true of Cliff Young, who had many achievements and who continues to serve the public extremely well.

We debated many people. During my University debating career, [Gregson Bautzer] was making a tour of the United States as a debater from the University of Southern California; and they debated right on this campus—Gregson Bautzer and his teammate. And I debated that debate, I believe, with—I'm not sure that it was Lenard Sledge; it could have been and it could have been somebody else. But in any event we debated successfully, and we received a two-to-one decision over the very strong and powerful USC, and so I had brought some kind of retribution into my subjects with Gregson Bautzer.\* My very dear senatorial friend, U.S. senatorial friend, Tom Kuchel of California is now a member of Bautzer's firm, and I've suggested to Senator Kuchel that we have a luncheon sometime in the future so that Gregson Bautzer, his partner, and I can kind of reminisce about some of the earlier days some thirty-five or forty years earlier. There were other incidents very similar to that throughout our debating careers when we debated almost all of the California colleges and all of those of Utah, a few in Oregon, and I think one in the state of Washington.

I took rather a minor role as an actor. I used to sign up for them, but I think my lead was as a sheepherder in the *Chester Mysteries*, and it was no Pulitzer Prize winner. It wouldn't have even won an Oscar. I always remember that because—again another life-long friend—George Vargas, was another sheepherder. lie was a real actor. He was a

thespian in the best sense of the word and has carved out a spectacular career for himself as a lawyer in the state of Nevada. Again it's very interesting that George Vargas came out of Winnemucca. We debated against each other in high school. We debated *with* each other at the University of Nevada, and in our legal careers I don't think we've ever been on the same side of the question at any one time and remained again fast friends over all those periods of time. I'm a tremendous admirer of his. He not only could qualify as a Hollywood actor on his manner and his marvelous looks, but his ability. And again his success before the Nevada legislature is practically renowned, and he will always be known for his going away parties at the end of the legislative session which are fabulous. There's just nothing to compare with them, whether he gets all what he wants in the way of a lobbyist for his various clients (and they're very distinguished clients) he certainly has made many friends in the legislature over this period of years.

I took an active part in newspaper work, and again I think that was primarily due to Dr. Fred Anderson, my lifelong and I suppose the closest friend I have in the world. Our friendship goes back better than fifty years, and he was one most active in pledging me to the same fraternity, but he was also very active in getting me into the *Sagebrush* as a newspaperman about which I knew absolutely nothing. And I started out as one of the assistant editors and became the next to the top spot, but never succeeded in being the editor of the *Sagebrush*.

Well, I studied under Alfred Leslie Higginbotham, who really was Mr. Journalism of the University for so many, many years and who taught me one thing that I've always

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\*See above

chided the present newspaper writers and journalists that they've overlooked; he had his classroom ringing with little cards that said accuracy, accuracy, accuracy. And I've often talked in my later political life to members of the Fourth Estate—members of the press—and said that they've kind of overlooked that accuracy thing because they sometimes color their "who, why, what, where, and how" with a little editorial comment which is not really straight newspaper reporting, but it seems to be the mode of the day. And I would simply let them come to their own defense. They have on balance treated me very well.

In view of the fact that I did stand for election on several occasions, it might be helpful to see how it was working back in the period between '26 and '30 as contrasted to the way it may work now. I know that during those periods of time, we usually teamed up with other fraternities and other sororities and used to come out with a kind of combined ticket where we had an SAE running for president, a Lambda Chi running for treasurer (which was true at the time that I was selected as a student body treasurer) and wind up with either the Tri-Delts or the Thetas or the Gamma Phi Betas for a secretary from one of the sororities or a vice-president from one of the sororities. And I don't recall the exact sorority lineups of those eras, but they would be one of the Gamma Phis possibly for secretary and possibly a Tri-Delt for the vice-president. And with that team of sororities and fraternities running as a team, we thought that it strengthened our entire ticket. I don't know whether it did or didn't, but at least it helped us get elected the times that we were successful.

I don't know, I think the participation at that time was probably percentagewise better than it is today. Of course during that period of time, the University total enrollment was

probably in the neighborhood between eight and nine hundred—possibly a thousand students at the most. And today of course it's in the range as I understand it, some eight thousand people; so—but I think we had more college participation in our politics of the day than they have now, which I don't think is surprising because we—with the additional increase in population, with the many problems they have today—we had them then, but I don't know whether they were quite as severe or dramatic as they are right now. I think we felt then that we had more liberty and latitude than we do today as far as other outside activities were concerned.

I am rather proud of the fact that over my own life history my mother went to the University of Nevada, I went to the University of Nevada, my oldest son went to the University of Nevada—was very active in politics and was the student body president during his senior year. I believe he won the student body presidency by not over one or two votes as it was very, very narrow: and I've always chided him as being "Landslide Bible" [Paul] just the way President [Lyndon] Johnson was known as "Landslide Johnson" on his eighty-seven vote victory for U.S. senator from the state of Texas. He takes it in good graces; I imagine it bothered him a bit [chuckling] at the time. Looks to me like they should have had a rerun with that narrow—but that's quite a bit in the past. So he was active in the University of Nevada both in debating and political life of that time. My second son, Bill, did not graduate from the University of Nevada. He was a Stanford graduate, but he did take his master's from Nevada in business, and his wife graduated from the Orvis nursing school. My son Paul's wife graduated from the University of Nevada. My granddaughter, my daughter's daughter, graduated from the University of Nevada; so

that we have a pretty strong tie to this great old University and this great state of ours. And I'm sure the rest of our grandchildren as they come along will—at least a good part of them, I hope—will be going to the University of Nevada.

*Mary Ellen Glass: Do you want to add anything about student traditions of your college years?*

Well, I might add just a bit there. Some of them I suppose I could mention. I suppose there's a number of them I should not—that would be better left unsaid. [Laughter] I know that all universities at various times had a little turmoil, a little upsurge or dissatisfaction with the governing authority, but I shall never forget that, I think it was in my junior year, we were very much dissatisfied or thought we were dissatisfied with the head of the University, Dr. Walter Clark; and there was a group of reformers, myself included, who thought he should immediately resign because we didn't like the way he was running the University. So we made the usual—oh, sarcastic blasts in the *Sagebrush* of the day and demanded audiences with him. And at one time I can recall because I was a part of the operation, I don't think with any great pride as I look back, but I thought at the time it was very, very important. We visited upon the good doctor after a rather blistering editorial and demanding his immediate resignation, and we had the story all written up, and we asked if we could see him, that we had something we were gonna put in the paper. We thought in fairness to him that we would give him the opportunity to comment on it at the time.

So, I don't remember how many were absolutely engaged in this. I know a few of the names. One of our leaders was Danny McKnight, the son of District Judge McKnight, who was unfortunately killed in

an automobile accident; he was one of our ring leaders. And Allen Crawford who was a fraternity brother of mine, the editor of the *Sagebrush*, was another reformer and he has since passed on.

But we decided that we would in fairness—and I thought that was very noble of us—give Dr. Clark the opportunity of acceding to our wishes that he resign at the end of his term; and so we asked if we could see him. And he was a diplomat as well as a very fine gentleman, and I'm sure was a very fine [University] president though he wasn't doing something to our liking, and we thought there should be a change. So we visited with him, one night late, before the paper was to go to bed—be put to bed and printed, and we found him at his home which was at that time on campus. And he came to the door—I don't remember the exact time—it was ten-thirty, eleven o'clock at night, something in the range—and appeared in a long nightgown and stocking cap and invited us in. So we read what we were going to say about him, and he handled it very coolly and calmly, and said, "Well, if I were you I'd just go right ahead and publish it and just shoot your best gun. That's all you can do in life." He said, "You're dead wrong, but you go ahead and do what you think is best." So being headstrong as a group of—I guess we'd be called young radicals or revolutionaries or whatever—we went ahead and published the editorial.

And it wasn't—the earth didn't shake and the University went on more or less regularly the next day. And we demanded a legislative review, so the Assembly or the Senate or I think in a joint committee gave us that legislative review, and we learned then that we were rather badly prepared. The University wasn't being governed as badly as we thought. And the University administration and the Board of Regents got a completely clear bill of

health, and we were held up to rather public ridicule. And so I've always been sympathetic I think in the intervening years—this would be in 1929—some fifty years later I've always been rather sympathetic for those people who like to try to change the going order, and I don't think that we ever ultimately caused any great damage. I think maybe they did change a few of their practices and try to correct a few things that made the University a better place.

That's something that just comes back to me just rather piecemeal. It rather discouraged me in the future from bein' a revolutionary or a reformer, but at least to respect the views of those who might want to reform. We see really, I suppose, all too much of that in the United States of America in recent years that if it isn't accompanied by violence, if it's simply the hearing out of the—pursuant to our Constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech that I think it has overall made us a stronger nation. I can see him in that nightgown now. [Laughter] But—trouble is I'd have to refresh my memory by going back to some of those early day *Sagebrushes* and see just exactly what it was we were so mad at him about. We were mad at him about something he wouldn't do. Well, I just don't really know what it was. I just—my mind's blank on that.

And the great thing about going to the University of Nevada-Reno is that the people that attended at that time—I guess we were eight or nine hundred strong—they scattered all over the state, and they've been in many places of prominence. And over my life and career, particularly since mine has been a political career, I think it served me in a good stead because in every community then and now, I know people with whom I've gone to college and kept up rather a close acquaintanceship over the years. And they've been fine friendships, and they persisted over the years.

Social life at that period of time, insofar as I was personally concerned, was pretty much limited to my fraternity house. They had their occasional dances. I was not exposed to the forbidden beverage of the day—the alcoholic beverage—until probably my junior or senior year as a college student. I've taken some since then and probably had a very bare minimum of 'em during that period of time. But as far as branching out beyond the confines of the University and the confines of the fraternity house, I simply didn't do it.

Those are a few of the reminiscences that come back as I look back on the college days. I wouldn't trade them for anything in the world. I certainly wouldn't—I've never had a second wish about going somewhere else except the University of Nevada. I think it's a great university, and the one thing that you get out of the University of Nevada probably more than any other—other than your book learning and your book education—is the friends that you make there last with you for an entire lifetime. And again that was something that stood me in terrifically good stead when I ran for—first as attorney general on a statewide basis and then later on for four times successfully as a U.S. senator because in each and every community in the state of Nevada, bar none, you could always find someone with whom you'd gone to the University of Nevada with. And that was a close, warm relationship which came back to help you a great deal in later years. I hope I've been worthy of that; I try to reciprocate and try to remember those friendships and try to particularly remember and be helpful to those communities in which I had so many pleasant memories.

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## GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL

### FIRST IMPRESSIONS

And after I graduated in 1930, Mel Hancock and myself made a tour of the United States and were gone for a number of months. I think we went to about forty-four or forty-five different states. I didn't go to school that next year. I had personally saved up enough money to buy a second-hand car and it saw us around the United States. We stayed at the various fraternity houses and visited the people that we had known or had ties with in our earlier days, either through high school or through college.

Returning to Nevada, I managed my father's store in Fallon. He was the proprietor of the Fallon Mercantile which was—at that time—was a grocery and meat market and hardware store. So I managed that store for him for oh, I guess seven or eight months and again saved enough money to get on back to my law school. I had chosen Georgetown Law School, which is a splendid law school, located in Washington, D.C. And I think the political atmosphere that was there probably

induced me more than anything else to go to Georgetown—a decision which I have never regretted.

We also took a look at (by we I mean Mel Hancock and myself) the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, which has always been one of the great law schools in the country. And we were motivated to take a look there because our high school principal George E. McCracken was a graduate of that school, and then he came West for a very, very distinguished educational career. (I paid my respects to him before, and it doesn't hurt to repeat 'em again because he was one of the most outstanding educators I've ever known in my career. He was my debate coach in my high school days, and then I said earlier that Bob Griffin was my debate coach here at the University of Nevada campus. So I had superior training, as I see it, by these two very distinguished debate coaches. Bob Griffin was from Oregon, and we likewise took a look at those law schools because they were in the West, and our debate coach had spoken very favorably of them.) But in the

final analysis I think we selected Georgetown Law School for two reasons. Number one, it was interwoven with the political life of the nation's capital; and secondarily, that it offered many opportunities in employment. One could secure employment in one of the government departments; or working up on the Hill, as we called it, on the floor of the Senate or the floor of the House and things of that kind.

Mel Hancock went to Georgetown Law with me for one year. I think we both did moderately well in our grades, but this was the depths of the Depression, and his father indicated that he better come on home and learn a trade and because the condition of the time—it was pretty hard to send anybody to school. The banks had closed—some of the banks had closed, and things really all in all were very tough during those years of '31 and '32, and we hadn't fought our way out of the '28, '29 Depression at that time. So Mel only went to Georgetown for the one year and returned to become in Reno one of its most successful businessmen and builders as [he] inherited his father's building and business savvy and know-how and has done extremely well for himself.

The Georgetown Law School was an interesting challenge to me. I'd been used to going to the University of Nevada, Reno, where we had campus life and social life and a close acquaintanceship with everyone that was here, the school being about eight or nine hundred people at that time, total of all the departments. And going back to Georgetown Law which was completely isolated from the Georgetown undergraduate school. It was located at Fifth and E Street which was oh, many miles from the campus at Georgetown. It was within about six or seven blocks of the Capitol of the United States. It was located there in the early days because of its proximity

to the Capitol. It was a very austere, four-story red brick building, most unimpressive. And Washington has, I think, over the years developed some of the finest lawyers primarily because it is the seat of the government. With so many governmental problems, it attracts legal talent. Their professors were obviously very well-trained and capable men. It was almost completely a lecture course with very little exchange between the professors and the student, partly due to the fact that the classes were large.

But there was no social life of any kind. Whatever there was at that time, you made for yourself with the classmates that you met at Georgetown Law, and over the years it has been that way. At that time I don't believe we had any women in the classes. Since then it's—the whole university complex has changed, and though even the undergraduate part was simply male, now it is coeducational and there's men and women in varied proportions. I think really there are probably still more men going to both the undergraduate at Georgetown and the law school at Georgetown.

But the impression that one first had when you went there, that the separation really meant business because you only went there to study and try to learn law and to go on about your business or your work. It was for that reason that Georgetown [and] I believe the other law schools in the metropolitan Washington area, broke their classes into both morning classes and night classes. In other words, Georgetown then—I don't know whether it's still true or not—but at Georgetown at that time you couldn't work and go to day school. If you wanted to work, you had to work and go to night school, and it would take you four years to get your degree rather than the three years which was day school. I didn't work my first

year at Georgetown, so I enrolled in the day school and then when I received employment later on in my law school years, I just simply didn't disclose the fact that I was working and I went right ahead on the day school and managed to graduate as a day school student, which obviously put me through law school in three years rather than four. That was the advantage of it.

So I continued on the day school, graduated there in nineteen hundred and thirty-four. I had rather respectable grades I think. They'd be about average. They weren't a hundred percent at all, but they'd be in about the median or a little better than the median of the class. And as I recall we had about ninety or ninety-five graduates from law school that time. It has since become much larger, and there's a new law school.

There's really no particular moments of my law school that really stand out in my mind. We had some very fine professors and some very fine students there, as students who later on became involved in the political life of their states or of government, federal government or some of the secretaryships and things of that kind from the national level and federal level, such as the Secretary of Navy was Frank Nash, who was a classmate, brilliant man, and he served a tour of duty as the Secretary of the Navy. But it was practically all work and study and tending to lessons. There were no social events at all except that you worked out together with your classmates there. And I occasionally hear from some of them now, and have kept up a little contact.

It's nothing at all like it was at UNR where you had all these other complementary things going on such as your social life and your fraternities, your football and your basketball, and all your athletic sports. There was none of that existing in law school, and no contact with the "hilltop," as we called it, which was

many miles away and was the undergraduate school. So it was simply a different, and it was just truly a professional factory I guess is what you would call it. But I think they're rated well, and I think they were good instructors and they had a fine percentage of men turning out that have gone into politics, which fits into the Washington climate or into other successful careers in the practice of the law. So those are just roughly the impressions I have from Georgetown Law School. It was just a different type of life that's all.

### WORKING IN THE CAPITOL

But with the Depression hitting us as it did and likewise having its effect upon my father and the banks with whom he banked in Nevada, it very quickly became apparent if I wanted to continue my law school I'd have to secure employment. So at that time I went to our congressional members; my father was a very close friend of Senator Key Pittman's. As near as I know, he did not know Pat McCarran at that time. And he also knew Congressman [Samuel S.] Arentz at that time very well. He was a good friend of my father's. So I went to each of them and met the—Mr. Trenwith was the administrative assistant for Key Pittman and had been with him over his entire senatorial career which was lengthy at that time and I believe ended up being the second longest serving U.S. senator of any of our Nevada senators. (I think Senator Jones probably was number one in years of continuous service; and of course Senator Stewart was a long time serving senator with a broken term, I mean having finished a term and then went back into private practice and then later on had a run again and successfully. And then Key Pittman, I think, is the third in the number of years in which he served as the U.S. senator' from Nevada. I became

very friendly with him, got to know him very well.)

But on my visit to the Hill, as we called it, to the U.S. Senate building I went to both Senator Pittman's office and to Senator McCarran's office. At that time and it persisted for many years, there was a very definite cleavage between the two wings of the Nevada [Democratic] party. And one wing we pretty well know as the Pittman wing of the party and the other was known as the McCarran wing of the party. And it didn't make any difference to me which wing they belonged to; I wanted employment because I wanted to get through law school. So I went to each of the senators and talked with Mr. Trenwith who was Senator Pittman's secretary or administrative assistant. I don't know what their title was at that time—this would be 1933—but it was one or the other and their duties were roughly the same.

And I went to Senator McCarran's office by introduction from a Fallon man, Bob Douglass, Robert L. Douglass, who later became a long term Collector of Internal Revenue for Key Pittman. He was a very close Key Pittman ally. When I went to Senator McCarran's office, I met his secretary, who was Hazel Smith, who was born and raised in Carlin, Nevada, and she was very, very helpful to me and said she would try to secure some type of employment. I think it was next day or two days after having gone to them and Senator McCarran didn't even have his office moved in when I first saw him, and they said they'd do their best to get me something. So it was on a Friday of a week following, as I remember, Hazel Smith called me and told me that they had an elevator job for me and if I wanted to take the elevator job, I could have it the following day. And I said, "Well, I'll be in immediately and see you about it."

And she says, "Well, come in on Monday," I think it was.

And I said, "Fine."

And then the following day I received a call from Mr. Trenwith, who was Senator Pittman's secretary, and he said, "Now we have a job for you and you'll be running an elevator and you come in on Monday or Tuesday and we'll fix you up."

So I told him that I had received an earlier call from Senator McCarran's office indicating that he had employment and I thought in fairness to Senator McCarran, since he made me the first offer and I'd accepted it, it would be poor grace for me to turn that one down and take the Pittman offer. So for that one circumstance and that difference in twenty-four hours of employment, my entire political career was probably charted at that time and a very definite course set because if I had gone to work for Key Pittman, undoubtedly I would have come up the Pittman chain of Democrats in Nevada whereas I first went to work for Pat McCarran, I came up the McCarran wing. So for that one difference in receiving an elevator job in the Capitol of the United States, I ended up as a McCarran protege and came up the McCarran line rather than the Pittman line.

Many others who've gone back to Washington, ended up with Senator Pittman and were always very active in his wing of the party where I was always very active in the McCarran wing of the party. And over the years the feelings between Senator McCarran and Senator Pittman was always very cool at best. Many times they clashed on a variety of problems, but they both always were outstanding senators.

They had a signal in those days as an elevator boy that I'm going to relate because I think it shows how varying people treat you. You're told when you start working for the Congress of the United States, we were

told at that time (and the Architect of the Capitol at that time was a man by the name of David Lynn. He has since passed away, but he befriended me on one occasion when I really needed a friend and that's why I've always remembered his name). You're told that running an elevator, when you hear one buzz on your signal board that that means it's just John Q. Citizen. If you get two buzzes, that means that you've got a staff member working for some senator or a committee and then he's the one that is entitled to buzz it two times. But if you hear it three times, that's the command performance and that means that there's a U.S. senator that wants immediate attention. And I was told this. And on the second or third day of my employment in this little, old elevator which is still creaking up and down in the Capitol (was when I left) and you hear the three signals, that means you better drop everything—drop whatever you're holding as a passenger, go down to that floor where you received the signal, and pick up the senator and take him wherever he wants to go. So on this particular occasion, it was either the second or third day after I'd started becoming an elevator boy, and I was carrying one of the colored charmen from the basement up to the top floor. And all of a sudden I heard the summoning call of three bells—one, two, three—rather emphatically rung, I might add, by the senator who wanted immediate attention. The elevator in which I worked was one of the very few open-grilled elevators—it was a small elevator—and I passed the floor on which the three signals came from and he'd summoned and indicated he wanted to go down. And so I had this colored charman aboard with me, and I was taking him up to the top floor. I passed this open-grilled floor where a senator who could—who was buzzing the three times, I waved at him in what I thought was kind

of a friendly gesture and said, "I'll be back and get you in just a minute or two." And so I took the charman up to the third floor or fourth floor and left him off and turned around, went back to get the senator, and by that time this senator was irate, angry and had up a full head of steam. And he reported me that day as being insubordinate and not entitled to run an elevator—I didn't know the rules. And it had affronted him, so I received a summons the next day when I came in to work. And David—Architect Lynn said, "Did you do this?"

I says, "Yes I did."

And he said, "Why?"

I said, "Well, I don't know. I come from the West, and we kind of treat everybody alike."

The architect said, "Well, that was Senator Hale from Maine. And there have been members of the Hale family in the Congress of the United States, either as congressman or senators, I guess since the founding of the Nation." And he said, "Now he's lodged a complaint against you, and he thinks that you should be retired."

And I said, "Well, I haven't really started, and I certainly need the job."

He says, "Well, I think anybody is entitled to another chance." He said, "I think you made an honest mistake. It was a stupid mistake on your part, but," he said, "we'll overlook it." But he said, "Don't do it again." He said, "Anytime you hear that three bells," he said, "you stop whatever you're doin' and go right back and answer it."

So I said, "I'll certainly remember your admonition, Mr. Lynn." And I certainly did. And little did I dream then or have any idea that someday I might be back there in later years as a U.S. senator.

It turned out that way during all the time that I served as a senator, I would never buzz three times, except where there was a vote on

the floor and I had to get over there hurried in case I missed something. That's something that I shall never forget as long as I live because I think it taught me some humility and some respect for the other person's rights. They don't use the three bells as much now as they did then except when there was an honest-to-God emergency. But that's just one little anecdote that comes back to me in my own personal experiences on the floor of the Senate.

Then later on [I served] as a messenger in—or really a sergeant-of-arms—I was sworn in in that capacity as a sergeant-of-arms and as such I was detailed to his office and spent much time on the floor of the United States Senate running errands for the various senators.

Huey Long was one of the main attractions as a United States senator from the state of Louisiana, and he was always an attraction to the general public. At that particular time we weren't tied down with television as we are today and that being such an attraction in the homes of our people. So when the news got out that Huey Long was about to make a talk on the floor of the Senate of the United States, the galleries were always packed because he was a showman of the first order. He was the founder of "share the wealth" philosophy, and he talked on that at many, many times and at length. And any time that Senator Huey Long of Louisiana was talking, it would be better than any movie or stage play that we have today. He was entertaining; he had a myriad of stories; he told them extremely well. He was a senator that very few other senators cared to challenge because he was quick and he was sarcastic, and they usually had to come in second fiddle when they were debating with him. He knew no quarter and always gave more than he received in the way of exchanges.

It seems to me that as I wound up my career in Washington after some twenty years that the exchanges back in those days (and this was in the early '30s, the Depression days, the early '30s), that the debate was much more caustic and personal than it is today. Now that might just be an imagination of mine because of the different viewpoints from which I watched the unfolding drama before me in the Senate arena. But as a deputy sergeant- [at]-arms and running errands and attending law school, I probably was more susceptible to the words that were exchanged between senators than I was some twenty-five or thirty years later when I returned in a different capacity and as a senator myself. But be that as it may, Senator Huey Long was always one of the main attractions.

#### **NEVADA'S CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION IN THE THIRTIES**

When I first went back into Washington in 1931, the senator from Nevada was, on the Republican side, was Tasker L. Oddie who was a very distinguished man. And he was chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee during part of the years that I was back there. And of course then he's the one that had run for a number of times unsuccessfully (and he was a former governor of Nevada), and then later on he ran as U.S. senator, was elected, and I think he was in his third term when the Depression hit, and Pat McCarran ran against him. Oddie was thought to be the odd son favorite to win, but it happened to be the year in which a distinguished American by the name of Franklin Delano Roosevelt was running, and he's one of the presidents, maybe one of the few presidents, that had long coattails, and he brought many people along with him, and included among that group were Pat McCarran because he [FDR]

was helpful to Senator McCarran. And the state went overwhelmingly Democratic in that particular election year. And not only Franklin Delano Roosevelt, but also Pat McCarran who then started out on a spectacular career. I don't think that you can characterize it any other way. He started out as a very loyal Democrat, loyal Rooseveltian, but it didn't take long for that to kind of switch a little here and there. And so he was always an independent man, and they had their difference over "court packing" and things of that kind.

This was the day of course of our two very fine and distinguished Nevada senators. They were pretty much at their peak. One was Key Pittman, senior senator from Nevada, and the statesman and the "silver orator" and the very distinguished lawyer—born in Vicksburg, Mississippi and then gone and spent early legal days in Alaska and then had come down from Alaska into Tonopah where he was highly successful as a lawyer. And then was elected as—first *selected* by the state legislature before the direct primaries and later on elected many, many times, served about second or third in years of service of any of our U.S. senators. And of course then Pat McCarran was just starting out during the time that I was working there. It was through him that I secured my employment first as an elevator operator and then as a sergeant-[at]-arms. And Pat McCarran made his mark early and improved on it as he served for so many years in the United States Senate. He was a very famous criminal lawyer, one of the finest in the West; and he put his oratorical talents to great use on the floor of the Senate and was very persuasive, and he came there during the election of FDR and served very closely with him in the early years and later they had falling-outs over various problems, various issues that came before them, and

their friendship was tested many times. They were never close pals and buddies, but they had been when they first started out, both at the same time in the government of the United States.

But Key Pittman was always very close to FDR. I think he was mentioned a number of times in some of the Roosevelt stories and biographies. And of course because of his years of service in the United States Senate, he was selected as the pro tem of the United States Senate, and he served in that capacity for many, many years and was particularly well-known because of his forewarnings of the dangers of international conflict, particularly with Japan. And he sounded that warning and claimed that we were sending scrap iron and sending iron ore to Japan which would later come back to us in the form of bullets. And this was all too prophetic, and came about as Senator Key Pittman had warned. He made that warning many times in many speeches, so it's well documented.

As Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, he occupied a very strategic, very important position in the international affairs of our country. He was not an easy man to know personally. Maybe I was lookin' at him through different colored glasses because I was simply a page in effect (or a deputy sergeant- tat]-arms in actual name, but it was a page job). And then later viewed him as a law student, and then later as a practicing lawyer and deputy attorney general of Nevada. And over those years I never felt very close to Key Pittman. He was much closer to my father.

Employment was very hard to come by. Nevada had suffered bank failures. The problem in Nevada was pretty much at a low ebb there, as much as a low ebb in Nevada ever gets. It seems to survive depressions very well, at least in my experience and not feel the adversity as other larger and more

populated states do. We seem to ride the crest very well and never really feel the real effects of a depression. That was a rough depression nationwide, but not too badly felt in Nevada, though felt to some degree.

It was during that period of time that I for the first time became acquainted with Congressman James Scrugham, the third member of the congressional team of Pittman and McCarran and Scrugham. And I got to know him subsequently in later life very, very well. He was always extremely helpful to me and extremely friendly. His right hand man during all of the times that I have known him was Orrin Davie, who served as his administrative secretary for many years; and then later after Jim Scrugham was dead, I was in a position where I could give Orrin Davie employment, which I did. He ran my Reno office for many years. So these were the thumbnail sketches of the triumvirate of Nevada representation when I first went to Washington or shortly after I first went there. And I knew all three of those men very well in subsequent years, and as my own career evolved.

Jim Scrugham, of course, had one of the most distinguished of our Nevada careers. He was a professor at the University of Nevada. He served at the University of Nevada School of Engineering for a number of years, and one of the main buildings at the Nevada campus is named after him, the Scrugham Engineering building. He served as state engineer in Nevada. He later became the governor of Nevada. He later than that became a congressman from Nevada, and even later than that he became a U.S. senator from Nevada. And I believe I'm correct in saying that he is the only man in our Nevada history that's held that many, the top three positions in the state of Nevada. He was not an impressive speaker, on the contrary was a

poor speaker, but he had a great faculty and knack of making friends. I believe he probably knew as many old prospectors and mining men and men off the beaten paths of Nevada and the rural mining camps as any one man.

Of course all of us who have served Nevada in Washington have tried to meet as many people off the beaten path as we can because it's rather an occasion for someone from Washington to go into some of these out-of-the-way mining camps. And of course it's talked about in the bars and the saloons and the courthouse for many months after the visit. And they follow their congressional leaders very closely as well as their own county and state leaders. But each of these men, Pittman and McCarran and Scrugham, were past masters at getting into the little out-of-the-way places.

And of course the longer they stayed in Washington, the more seniority they acquired and the less frequent were their visits back to their state and to the mining camps. And I know they have told me and what I have encountered myself: that's always one of the main criticisms of anyone who serves on the Washington level is that they haven't been home as often as they should, they've forgotten the people back here—they're accused of this—they've forgotten their people back here and now they've got high hat and never come to their home towns. And of course that is an exaggerated criticism. It's one that's rather normal I guess. It's awfully hard to meet because then if you do go home and come home frequently, then some vote comes up in Washington and you probably should have been in Washington and then you're accused of ducking a vote and being in Nevada when you should have been in Washington.

It's one of the most complicated problems to deal with, and the one thing that has made it easier over the years is the advent of the jet

airplane that jets you back and forth across the country in a matter of hours so that you can pick your spots, to use the vernacular, and be home when you should be home to county fairs and the graduations and commencements and the admission days and events that command some attendance, either the north or south of the state and likewise be in Washington when you have important votes.

I've always felt that it was not necessary to make a hundred percent record in voting. And of course there's other senators alive and working today in Washington, I believe that haven't missed a vote in years. Bill Proxmire's name comes to mind; and the last time I had seen his voting record, he had had a perfect voting record for a longer period of time than anybody else. Margaret Chase Smith, able senator from Maine, took great pride in never having missed a vote in a great number of years. And she held the record for awhile. But my philosophy was that I should be in Washington voting on the critical issues that come up; there's a tendency today and it seems to be increasing, to practically have a roll call of every question that comes up, and of course the more embarrassing the question, the more roll calls you have because they want everybody to be counted. And I approve of that, but it does require constant attention to the issues that are coming up.

Maybe we're over-governed. Lots of people think we are, and they may be right. But by the same token, the population has increased so much nationwide and even more so in the state of Nevada. When I first got into politics I think Nevada had about the old saying of "one square person for every square mile" or something like a hundred and ten thousand people, and today we have probably about five times that many, probably about five hundred and fifty thousand people

in Nevada and growing by leaps and bounds particularly in the two pivotal areas of the state, Reno and Las Vegas, with Las Vegas out-distancing Reno by I guess about sixty-forty ratio or out-distancing the rest of the state really, but a margin of some sixty to forty. I think there's about sixty percent of the people in Nevada are in Clark County and balanced with forty percent are in the balance of the state, and with Reno growing very rapidly, but not quite as rapidly as Las Vegas. And that has held right to this day, and of course the political implications of that are rather clear that the balance of political power lies with Clark County; if they were to stand together and vote together which they never seem to do, they could absolutely control the state, but they fall apart and have differences of opinion just as every other county does; so I guess that keeps the balance pretty well evened up.

But those are developments that one sees as they look at Pittman and McCarran and Scrugham from the start of my political career up to the present day, and the contrast that you have with the present day congressional team of Cannon and Laxalt and Santini. It's quite a contrast in style and in attention to constituent needs. Of course the advent of the television has supplanted the earlier day methods to a great extent because the wise person used television frequently, but not to excess in getting his message back to his home people. So those are contrasts in style and tied very largely to the improvements in communications that we have today in our media television. It has had as much impact on political thinking and political campaigning as any one thing. Of course it also can be a deathly type of an invention because some people project on the tube very well and others do not. Some people should use television; others are far better off not to use it. So I think that is another thing that has

changed since the days that I mentioned when I first became acquainted with the political figures of Nevada.

They were all different stylists in their own right. Pittman being very sedate and proper, and he had a colorful career. They all had a bit of an addiction to a drink now and then which seems to be an established course of life and particularly among politicians, and they all used it to varying degrees, and I assume with varying successes or failures as the case might be. They were never particularly *simpatico* during the time that I knew them. They always had their differences. They probably were too much individualists. And they all wanted the headlines, but they didn't particularly want to share them, which always seems to me there's plenty of glory for everybody to share. And in reverse, if things go bad, there's misery loves company, and there's always someone can share the blame. They were all individualists of the first order, and there were many disagreements between them. When the chips were down, I don't think there's any doubt but what they all worked for the best of their nation as they saw it and the best of their state as they saw it. But on individual items there were frequent discussions and debates and disagreements, and some of the early exchanges between the three of them, and particularly between Pittman and McCarran, I think were rather bitter.

And as one analyzes political figures and attempts to see what makes them tick and why they were successful and where their problems happened to lie, I think it primarily stemmed mainly from the people that they had around them, the staff people, and the people who were sayin', "Well, McCarran is gettin' the credit for this and you did the job." That was always a common complaint and one which all of us in political life have heard from time to time.

I did my best—not trying to brag about it at all—but simply for the good of the state to have regular congressional meetings and to announce things as a team, a congressional team. And that works at times and then falls apart at times. I think if you can accomplish that the average person doesn't care whether it's A, B or C that gets the job done, as long as they get the job done for the state of Nevada, for example, or for the communities within the state. But they had many disagreements on that, and they certainly were never close as a team. I don't know if there's any particular remedy for it. It's a matter of individuals and a matter of each rather looking out for his own good because if they don't nobody else will; so it's rather an imponderable problem. You can set the ideal, and your political scientists can write about the ideal situation, but in practice, particularly I think in a small state where so many people get to know you and know you on a first name basis, I think it becomes increasingly difficult.

*Was there some really basic thing that any of them ever told you that had caused this, like the 1916 struggle between McCarran and Pittman?*

No, I think it was just something that just happened to come about because they were competitive and they were individuals and they each wanted headlines themselves; they didn't want to share them. And I don't know that they ever pinpointed any one particular thing. Of course again I think particularly in McCarran-Pittman conflicts (and there were many of them over their entire careers and life) that it was largely kept alive and maybe flamed more than it normally would be by people in each camp sayin', "Well that so-and-so is doing this to you and he doesn't go up in the state and tells people what a great man you are or how much you're helpin' about it;

all he does is talk about himself and rather downplays you." So that can always be fanned by, as I indicated earlier, by the people around any particular candidate. I think that's just a fact of life, and I don't know of any way that you particularly prevent it.

Theirs was rather intense because they were two very intense men and two very dominating men, and each wanted their full share of the glory of Nevada; and I think each secured it, very frankly as you look back at it. And I don't know who you'd rate the greatest of the two or if you rate the two greater. I suppose most people would probably figure McCarran was a greater figure than Pittman, but a lot of strong Pittman fans would say, "Well he was a greater man than McCarran." It's the age-old discussion—who was greater Washington or Lincoln? They were both great, and I don't think you give them a one-two classification. I guess it was just the urge of being preeminent. It's a doggone good question, but I don't know the answer to it. And Jim Scrugham was a very, very popular individual as indicated by his election to so many top-notch political positions. But he wanted his share of the credit, and somebody got it rather than the other individual; then there was animosity's vote there and fired again and fanned again by people around him saying, "Well, you did the work, but he took the credit." And of course that's [chuckles] always—it's just a part of the game of politics I guess. It's unfortunate, but it does occur. They had many, many tiffs and arguments, but in the final analysis they were all for Nevada, and I think they worked to the betterment of Nevada.

I think I told you one of the things that remained in my mind over many years was the talk that Jim Scrugham made in one of his campaigns for reelection to the Congress when he was in Carson City and told about

his finding a great use for sagebrush, how they could extract from the sagebrush something the equivalent of rubber. And he visualized the entire state of Nevada being a rubber producer and reducing sagebrush to automobiles tires. And this talk was made in one of the larger halls over in Carson City during one of his main campaigns for reelection to the Congress, and he had the little ball about the size of a ball that you bounce I guess in playing jacks or something, some such similar size or a large marble. And he was bouncing it around on the table, and it got away from him and bounced all the way across the floor, and here was the congressman mumbling away. And I use the word mumble advisedly because he rather talked with a mumble. He was down on the floor crawling around trying to retrieve this rubber ball, and I think he got a bigger hand on that than probably anything he said. He was not a good speaker, but he knew his facts and he had vision. And this is one of the areas where he had a lot of vision, Of course he was very, very strong on creating parks and recreation areas throughout the state of Nevada. And he was instrumental particularly in the southern part of the state and Lincoln County and in sponsoring and carrying forward the program to develop parks for use of people in many, many areas of Nevada. So he was very helpful in that.

And there are many stories I could tell about Senator McCarran. I remember that in one of his campaigns (I was workin' for him then, I was still in law school) and we were driving around the state, and he would give me messages to deliver to the mayor or the various leaders and the various communities as to what was happening and particularly what he wanted them to do. And he always had some project in mind about "I want," for example, "Archie Grant elected as governor

of the state because he's on my team, and I want him as the governor." And I delivered that message to many people. Archie Grant was a very distinguished citizen in his own right, served as regent of the University of Nevada for many years, leading citizen of Clark County and would have been a splendid governor, but he was a university professor in that field. But he tried it, I think, several times. But those were the type of messages that were given to me by Pat McCarran to leading citizens of the state and particularly built around the so-called "McCarran machine."

And if there were any machines in Nevada, I think he's the closest of having had one. I know others tried it, but I don't think with the same success. They called the opposition camp the Pittman camp, and they called the McCarran camp the McCarran camp. And of all the politicians that I've known in my years of service in Nevada, he's the closest man to ever having had a machine. And he *did* have a machine. He made you aware of it, and he ruled [with] an iron hand—always, I think, with the overriding thought of what was good for the state of Nevada, is good for Pat McCarran. And he has many monuments to indicate where his production was the most successful, and his machine was a successful machine during his entire life. He had the reputation of having made very fast and devoted friends and also of having made very deep and bitter enemies. And I think that would characterize the man.

It was that very power that led to so many projects, not only in the state of Nevada, but nationally. He was the father, really, of aviation; and just as one example, he was the terror of the Justice Department on his immigration bill, the McCarran-Walter immigration bill. And he was against the court packing, and that's where one of the first real rifts between FDR and Pat McCarran arose, was over the

court packing. He was against packing the Court for political purposes and said so and fought arm-in-arm with Walter George of Georgia and Tydings of Maryland and other senators who were similarly minded, and I think correctly minded. And they won that battle, so he made a reputation in many areas.

Well, those are just a couple of them that occur to me right now. But having been a member of his team, and a proud member, having gone from law school into his law office, I certainly got to know him extremely well, and traveled with him day after day on many, many occasions. He knew a fabulous amount of people in Nevada, and it was certainly a great help to me as I went into politics myself in later years, because I was tabbed as a McCarran boy. And it was also through my associations, I became acquainted with most of his right-hand people, and it stood me in good stead, needless to say, in years to come.

*Since you have opened this subject about his righthand people, would you like to talk a little about Pete Petersen and his work, and about Norman Biltz and about Ed Converse and some of the others? This bipartisan situation that has always interested the political scientists.*

Yes, Pat McCarran in his early years in attempting to reach the senatorship [had] been rebuffed a number of times and had been unsuccessful in getting on the inside of the Democratic party; and earlier than McCarran's entry into politics, there had been the very distinct cleavage in Nevada where there was a group of people who believed pretty much in a bipartisan political team. And this was particularly true during the early days of Oddie and Pittman. Now Oddie and Pittman were U.S. senators. One was a Democrat, and one was a Republican, and they had pretty

much—though they played the Republican party and they also played the Democratic party, they very much enjoyed a bipartisan friendship. And it was always claimed that that pretty much stemmed from the law office of Woodburn and Thatcher, that they were the kingpins in putting together a Republican-Democratic, top-level team in the state of Nevada, so that they could have control over a senator no matter who the president of the United States was. If he was a Democrat, they'd have the Democratic man, Pittman; and if he was a Republican, they'd have the Republican man, Tasker Oddie.

This was the first bipartisan machine in Nevada, and existed for many years and was really broken up, I think, by the election of Pat McCarran who was no—he wasn't one of their favorites. They were on opposite sides of the fence, but after Pat McCarran was elected and he served and headed up the Democratic party and did very well, then he, too, I think leaned rather heavily on certain people within Nevada who were registered as Republicans, but were always—they were Pat McCarran Republicans. And one could name many people from throughout Nevada that would fit into that category, and they were always supportin' him. This was mainly true of many of the cattle and sheep men throughout the state who were Republican registered, but who were also very strong Republican for McCarran supporters. That carried on through all of his political career, and of course that made many of the strong party people in the Democratic party a little suspect of Senator McCarran and weakened him somewhat. But on balance he had so many solid friends within the Democratic party and so many solid friends in the Republican party that he could pretty much have a McCarran party, which is what he had. And it was made up primarily of Democrats, but

also of Republicans as well, so they combined at times of election to support McCarran and some of them did it—most of them actually did it openly and without any apology at all. They just said, "Well, he's the best man that we have for Nevada and we're for him." So he profited by that a great deal.

I think his master politician was Pete Petersen, who'd be his contact man in Nevada. Pete had a very, very wonderful way of handling people and not only handling people, but diagnosing political problems, far better I think than Senator McCarran himself because he could see danger signs, and he was the eyes and the ears for Pat McCarran in the state of Nevada. Many other people tried to claim that, but I think the credit goes to Pete Petersen. And he was devoted to McCarran; McCarran could almost do no wrong. He was always on the go. He started out as a labor leader and organized a little club made up of a few select people in this area of the state, who also practically all of them were political figures and held various jobs. Oak-We-No, as I recall, was the name of this little organization; and it was made up of such people as Pete Petersen. There's Matt Murphy, and state mining inspector; there's George Allard who was public service commissioner. It was made up of people of that character with a few businessmen in it. And then again, they were just a proliferation or an extension of the eyes and ears of Pete Petersen. Pete Petersen was really the guiding light of this little club, and in the early years we met rather regularly and later on it fell into disuse as clubs of that kind will. But we had an identifying pin that we wore showing we were a member of the Oak-We-No club. And it had some translatable meaning which I unfortunately don't remember. It meant something—eyes and ears for Pat or something like that, and was used by him rather effectively through campaign periods.

Later on in life he was of assistance to Norman Biltz, and primarily through Johnny Mueller and Eva Adams. They all became a part of the McCarran machine, furnished him with the "sinews of war" (which would be money), and were consulted more often in later years by McCarran I think even than maybe Pete Petersen. Pete Petersen was the top man for many years, but I think in later years he was supplanted by both John Mueller and then Norman Blitz. There wasn't any falling out about it—it was just a gradual transition, but they took over more and more power. And I think as they took over more and more power on behalf of McCarran, that Pete Petersen had a lesser role, but he was postmaster in Reno for many years and was an excellent postmaster. And this was a great area from which to work because he had reports backed by the postmasters around the state of how Senator McCarran stood or what he'd done right or wrong. So it was a very effective organization, and then was a great help to him. And then of course he—through the cattlemen, and the sheepmen, and through the leading mining men of the state, all of whom almost invariably were Republican-oriented, he combined his top-level Republican advisors with the Democratic party both through the party and outside the party to supplement and put together a machine that combined a little bit of everything and made him such an effective man.

And they'd attack that time and time again and attempting to destroy him. One of his opponents in an earlier campaign, I guess maybe his second campaign or third, he was pictured in ads (and I'll have to run one of these down because I thought it was the best political ad I've ever seen). It was made up of Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, and had a great big picture of McCarran dressed

up as Snow White and his Seven Dwarfs. I happened to be honored by bein' one. I was called "Dopey" for years as a result of it; but among the dwarfs who have come back that were his henchmen, one was Pete Petersen. [Miles N.] Jack Pike was a member of it. Governor Carville was a member of it. I happened to be selected as one of the dwarfs. It received wide circulation throughout the state of Nevada. I always thought it helped him more than it hurt him, but he took rather a dim view of being set up as "Snow White." And I had many of my close friends tell me, "Well, Dopey is just the right word for you." So that was one of the early day parts of the campaign. And it was that type of an organization at which Pat McCarran was a past master. And of course with seniority came more power, and he built it well. But that was Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs. Gosh, he got mad.

And then of course he and Carville, as you know, had a very deep and bitter falling out. They had a lot of rough campaigns back then. They had the Pope over the Capitol running the state of Nevada because Carville was a very strong Catholic (his wife was far stronger I guess), but anyway they spent lots of time with the Pope and the Bishop and all of them. There's a strong Masonic influence in Nevada, and it was very bitter back then. Thank goodness it seems to have vanished. People don't worry about that so much any more, but there was a time when it was very bitter. (I'm a Mason—been a Mason all my life—they even sometimes bring it up in the lodge. I'm not a very good lodge member, needless to say.)

Senator McCarran was a man that was very accustomed to telling everybody exactly what to do and how to do it, and then persuading them if he could. And if he couldn't persuade them, he'd demand it. And

he was a man of great sensibilities and great pride (and which, I'm sure, considering his career as a whole—brilliance—was justified). A number of instances come to mind. I can remember the occasion when Mayor [C. D.] Baker of Las Vegas, who happened to be on the other side of the political fence from McCarran's, came into some event. I don't know whether it was a Democratic convention or it was some civic event, and Pat McCarran was there, and Baker came in. Pat McCarran at that time was feuding with Mayor Baker. And as soon as Mayor Baker came in, Pat McCarran got up and left. And there were incidents like that that always were seized upon by the alert newspapermen and headlined.

And another occasion that I shall never forget was when the state convention was being held in Ely, and McCarran was to have some role in it, but he felt slighted. He'd driven over there, and he wasn't given the honors or the acclaim or the recognition that he thought he should have. And so he drove over one day, and he sized up the situation. It looked like an unfriendly convention to him. And he went into the opening meeting and was hardly recognized, so he simply got in his car and drove back to Reno and just skipped the whole convention. And there were many instances like that over his life. Most times he was properly recognized and in accordance with what he felt was his acclaim.

He had a habit that always interested me because so very few men could do it. But he would wait for the strategic moment for an entry and never be there on time or ahead of time. He'd wait and everybody'd get a little impatient wondering when Pat McCarran was gonna show. All of a sudden at that magic hour, he'd seem to just come into the hall, into the occasion; and it was as if it were staged. And he had that presence. And that no doubt

came about from his early day training as a marvelous criminal lawyer. He had the sense of what attracted the people and why he received this recognition. But he did it many, many times and quite often to the disgust of those who were handling the meeting, but it didn't bother him.

And he was a great orator, and he could command the attention of a crowd and always made terrific speeches. But no matter how many speakers there were on the program, there was only—it all had to be headed toward his final grand entry and to his final speech which would be the commanding of—the greatest speech of all of them. And he did that with great finesse and great effect, I might say. And he enjoyed that to no end. He was always worried about just how big a hand he was gonna get. So we always had a few people around that might kind of lead the applause a bit, though he could get spontaneous applause just because of the way he told his stories. Like all politicians, he told most of his political stories over and over again in various places, so as to attempt not to get repetitive. But he was a great story teller. He, invariably it seemed, got a fine round of applause. You never had quite the feeling of the impressive man in speaking that he was when television came in, because you couldn't carry a personal touch that he had in the television as you could in a command performance when he was at his very best.

Of the many men with whom I've served over the years as a U.S. senator, Pat McCarran looked more like a U.S. senator than anybody. He was built well. He was stocky, and he had a beautiful white mane of hair. And when he came into the Senate chambers in Washington during his tenure as senator, there was no question in the world but at least there was one man in the group that was a senator. And it certainly would be Pat McCarran. He

looked and he acted like a U.S. senator, and he carried that stage presence wherever he went. And he'd always delay just enough to make it effective. That was one of his mannerisms that helped him a great deal.

But he had that faculty as I said earlier of making fast friends and bitter enemies. And this happened—Governor Carville and Senator McCarran were both Catholics. They were both lawyers. They were both Nevadans, and Pat McCarran I think had more to do with making Governor Carville governor than any one man in the state of Nevada. And that friendship lasted for awhile, but Pat McCarran attempted to overdominate, I believe, Governor Carville; and Governor Carville, being a proud and capable individual of his own, resented that. And as the years went along there was a widening between the two, and they later had a complete political fallout which was witnessed pretty much by all the state of Nevada. They tried to keep it a little undercover, but in a state such as ours that just doesn't work out. I don't know where the straw was that broke the camel's back, but in any event they ended up not on the friendliest terms.

And of course Pat McCarran was insistent on the appointment of Governor Carville, who was a judge in Elko, being the U.S. attorney. And this was much sought after by Bill Boyle, who was another fine lawyer from Reno, and a great Pittman man. And so neither one for a long time would agree upon the other's choice of a U.S. attorney, and an objection by any U.S. senator from the man's own home state would be fatal to his appointment even though you could make the objection and it could be overridden by a vote. It's an inviolate rule of the Senate that if the senator from that state objects to the appointment of a U.S. attorney, for example, or a federal judge, for example, that the appointment will not move

forward. And so McCarran effectively used this, and said, "If you send the name of Bill Boyle up, I will object, personally object on the grounds that he's personally objectionable to me." And that was effective in blocking his appointment. And so Carville became the U.S. attorney. He was associated in the prosecution of McKay and Graham, and it was a successful prosecution. And that was his start of a fine campaign for governor of the state, and he was elected as governor of the state. And as indicated, they started out very friendly. Many McCarran appointments were made by Governor Carville. They served extremely well. Dick Sheehy is one name that comes to mind. He was selected as warden of the state penitentiary. He was primarily a McCarran man, and his was a recommendation of Senator McCarran to Governor Carville, and Governor Carville followed it.

And they were setting out as I see it looking back at it, as a beautiful Washington-Nevada team; but it came apart at the seams ultimately. And they became rather bitter enemies actually. So that's another episode that occurs to me. And Governor Carville later went on to seek higher office and was unsuccessful in doing so primarily because of Senator McCarran, who was instrumental in getting Berkeley Bunker to run against him, and then that was the split in the Democratic party that made the election of Molly Malone possible. So those are incidents in these early day—these earlier day politicians that come to me now. And I'm sure that McCarran is the one that got Bunker to run. And of course he shouldn't ever have run, but he did, and that split it up. At least that's the way I've always felt.

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## EARLY CAREER

### **THE LAW FIRM OF McCARRAN, RICE, AND BIBLE**

My graduation in 1934 from Georgetown Law School in really in the depth of the Depression nationwide (and felt in this state to a less limited extent, as I indicated in earlier recitals) during that period of time, made it very clear to me the first thing I wanted to do when I graduated was to secure employment as soon as I could. Fortunately for me, Senator McCarran wanted me to stay on for a period of time until I could find some law firm with whom I might associate. He had been having some difficulties with some of his partners. So it was only a short time after I graduated in the spring of nineteen hundred and thirty-four that the opportunity came to me to go into his law firm and to join with another young, aspiring lawyer by the name of Gordon Rice. And so from that necessity on Senator McCarran's part to try to build up and beef up his own law office in Reno, we formed the law firm of McCarran, Rice, and Bible. We were located at 16 East Second Street in

Reno, which had been Senator McCarran's old law office for quite a number of years. We continued on in that location.

Gordon Rice was a Sparks boy, born and raised there, went to the University of Nevada for a while. He had not finished law school, but he studied in the correspondence course 'til he took the Bar in the fall of nineteen hundred and thirty-five. I had taken it in April of 1935, and was admitted shortly thereafter. They graded the exams rather quickly. It wasn't a large class taking it, and I do remember that the only two of us who were admitted in April of 1935 was Grant Bowen, a very distinguished Washoe County jurist and a man who has brought distinction to himself and to the practice of law and to the judiciary because of his very able handling of cases in the Reno area. He's been a judge now for a good many years, and I guess is close to retirement because we're in about the same age group. And we had known each other through high school days and college days, and he went to Northwestern, I believe, law school, whereas I had gone to Georgetown.

But anyway, we both took the Bar exam in April or the spring I should say of nineteen hundred and thirty-five. We were the only two that were admitted in that spring class.

The fall class was the one in which Gordon Rice had taken the Bar exam, and he was also successful and admitted to law in '35. So in that general range of time, we became practicing lawyers in Nevada and formed this law partnership of McCarran, Rice, and Bible. McCarran furnished the political strength, and Gordon Rice furnished the material strength, and Bible furnished the spiritual strength. So we had a combination of those three elements in our law firm, those three—spiritual and political and the material.

The law firm as such was pretty run-down at the time that we went into it, because Senator McCarran as a lawyer was one of the greatest and as a jurist was one of the greatest, but it was pretty much of an individual attention that he gave to the firm that made it so—that made the firm whatever—whatever heights it might have achieved. But it depended upon his own personal attention, his appearing in court, and his name. So we had our work cut out for us, and we did the best to keep the firm going, and I'm sure not in the manner that would have occurred if Senator McCarran had been active in the firm. He was completely inactive because of his duties in Washington, D.C., so the burden fell on Gordon Rice and on myself, and we did the best we could to keep it going and bring in some revenue, at least enough revenue to pay the bills and get our own individual starts.

Gordon Rice was one of the ablest young men that I've ever been associated with. Throughout his legal career and his judicial career (because he was later a judge on the Washoe County bench) he always felt, I think, a little inferiority complex because he did not hold a law degree from a school. And I

think that always bothered him a bit, but I've watched his work, I've been associated with his work, and I think that he's as capable a lawyer as you can find in the Rena area. He had his ups and his downs as probably we all do, but he is a top-notch lawyer, great in front of a jury, and particularly great in preparing briefs and arguing cases on law. He's a student of the law. He follows it very closely and does a very, very effective job and has over all the years. His ambition was to become a judge and once having realized that ambition, he—it didn't have the action and didn't have the challenges that being a lawyer had, so he retired from his judgeship just not too, long after he was elected. I forgot exactly how many years he was on the bench, but I don't think it could have been over one term. And he got back to the active practice of law.

I actually associated myself with him—was in court with him for some few cases, not any great number because it seemed that I was leaning more and more to the political side of the wall rather than the actual legal side. It wasn't long before I became district attorney of Virginia City and under attorney general which had some administrative law in it, which had some actual law in it, and which had a considerable amount of politics in it. So I seemed to have started out, I really believe, to just be a straight lawyer and be one of the best in the world, but I seemed to get more and more drawn into the political side and ended up of course on the political side. There is the old saying about law being a jealous mistress and that certainly is true because I think you have to make up your mind to be one or the other. I don't think other than in your early days of initiation into law that you can do much else in the way of politics, because you have to devote full time to law, keeping up with the decisions and the appeals, and the overrulings and the affirming of cases

so you know exactly what the law is. And it's pretty hard in this complex and complicated society in which we live to really know what the law is because it is constantly changing. It doesn't stand still, and judges of differing ideologies and different philosophies rule differently on certain factual setups, and the U.S. Supreme Court is as good an example of that as anybody. Any group of men assembled together to try and interpret the law could say what it was. The narrowness of the decisions and the many five-four decisions I think are indicative of that.

This was the climate in which we launched the law firm of McCarran, Rice, and Bible. It must have been in 1935. I was in the law office in Reno for just a short period of time when there was a vacancy in Virginia City. And the vacancy was created by the resignation of Howard Gray, W. Howard Gray, a man about ten years older than I am and a very splendid lawyer. And there was a vacancy in the deputy attorney general's position in Carson City, so he accepted that which created the Virginia City vacancy. And then through the good offices of Senator McCarran and Bill Boyle, who had been an early-day district attorney in Virginia City, the job was offered to me; and I was successful in getting it.

As I recall, I went to Virginia City in about September of that year 1935. So from '34 into '35, it was a short period of time where I actually did very little practicing in Reno. The firm carried on under that name for some period of time. But the active work was carried on by Gordon Rice. Gordon, as I say, thought he wanted to become a judge, did become a judge, handled himself very well as a judge, but wanted to get back into the active practice of law. And he has carried that on successfully, built himself a very fine individual law office. A good deal like Pat McCarran, he was sought because

of his ability in front of jurors and his own individual legal expertise and not because he was a member of any firm, though he has had others in with him from time to time. He's primarily an individual, is selected because of the fact that he is such a fine individual lawyer and has pretty much practiced in that context over all of the years. We've always been close and dear friends and still are. I've always considered him a top-notch lawyer, would never hesitate for a moment on any legal problem that I might have to go to him and enlist his aid and hire him as a lawyer, such is my confidence in his ability.

Because of his joining with Pat McCarran, as I had joined, we were pretty much Democratic-oriented. In fact I might say we were entirely Democratic-oriented [chuckling] because if we weren't we probably wouldn't have lasted with Pat McCarran very long. But my actual legal experiences during the time that—for that short period of time in which I was actually in Reno, was rather limited.

#### **DISTRICT ATTORNEY OF STOREY COUNTY**

The vacancy came about in Virginia City because Howard Gray was offered the job of deputy attorney general of the state, a position which he immediately accepted and created the vacancy in Virginia City. My main sponsors were Bill Boyle and Senator Pat McCarran, and they went to bat for me with the county commissioners who held the power of appointments. So in September of nineteen hundred and thirty-five I found myself on the way to Virginia City, and of course had very little background in the practice of law because I had just been admitted in April of that year.

And I shall never forget the first case that I had when I accepted the appointment. It

was the case of the deputy sheriff having been locked in his own jail by a young Navy man who had gone AWOL. And of course this was an affront to the good citizens of Virginia City and Storey County that they would treat the deputy sheriff in that manner. And so this is the first case I had—was to try to wreak justice on the Navy boy who had done really nothing much, nothing much more than get himself drunk; and the deputy sheriff had taken him up to the jail to lock him in, found the table turned on him and himself locked in. He was one of the most lovable men I've ever known, and of course was very much embarrassed by the fact that this had happened to him. He was born and raised there, very much admired and loved by the people around him; and they were great supporters of his. He was later on to become sheriff of Virginia City and Storey County. And that in itself was quite an honor because of the important part that the law enforcing officers throughout Virginia City and Comstock Lode's history had always maintained.

We called in the Navy authorities to dispose of this case, and they agreed that they would have him plead to a lesser charge, a practice which is frequently followed in the practice of law, maybe over-abused in some places. But anyway this seemed to be a just sentence, and he received something like thirty days because when the people got over the shock of the event, they realized that it cost the poor, impoverished country so many dollars to take care of this lad, so they were very happy to have him serve out a limited period of time, and then to have him waived to the Navy. And the Navy took him, put on some additional sentencing. I've always regretted that I didn't follow this lad's history after that because it wasn't a serious crime. The seriousness arose in the minds of the people of Virginia City, [who] just didn't think this

should happen to one of their beloved citizens. That was disposed of. That was my first brush with actual practicing of law and prosecuting. Needless to say there weren't too many cases in Virginia City and in the Comstock at that time because the population had gone down as the mines had gone down. So there wasn't any great population at that time.

It was a one-man office, and I was the one man. I hired a secretary out of my share of the district attorney's salary. Don't recall the exact salary. But I suppose it was in the neighborhood of three or four thousand dollars a year. I don't think it was much more than that, and we were permitted to take private practice. And of course the main private practice involved divorces, because many people came to Virginia City to avoid publicity. The court was there on Fridays, and we could get the divorces normally without any great attention being paid to them. Later on it became quite a thriving business for a number of Reno lawyers who brought their clients to Virginia City and to Storey County to have them tried there. I believe the filing fees were less, and on many of these marginal cases they were below the prescribed minimum. Every dollar that was saved through a fee was an attraction to the client who wanted to get the divorce at the very most reasonable figure. And so that for a period of time attracted quite a number of outside people to come to Virginia City, and secure their divorces there because of the protection they had in publicity.

There weren't any great number of criminal cases during that period of time. I've often said that probably the most enjoyable period of my life was spent in Virginia City. I've never known a more hospitable people. They were very friendly, and I was at that age where life was enjoyable. I lived in the home of a Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Locklin who in turn

were very elderly and who had—Mr. Locklin had been employed as an engineer on the—one of the early-day mines and knew Mackay and Fair and Flood and O'Brien simply as an employer, not on the same level, but as an employee of theirs on the big Consolidated Virginia; Con Virginia I believe was the name of the company.

But mining was dying out rapidly there. They had run out of productive ore, and the costs of getting it from underground to surface was becoming more and more prohibitive. The Leonards were still operating, and the Arizona Comstock was operating. And there might have been two or three other mines that had some production, but it was easy to see that the mining future of Virginia City was in its last stages. And of course the results in the production of gold and silver proved that it was in its—really truly in its last stages. There're still some of them retaining great ore bodies at great depths, but the costs of whipping the water and of pumping make it prohibitive. And whether it will ever open again or not, I don't know; I'm not a mining engineer. But people still even today live in hope, and there may be a rebirth of the Bonanza, which of course was one of the great mining producers of the entire world. And the gold and silver that was taken out during the '60s and the '70s was a fabulous amount. The figure has always been somewhat an dispute, but it was into the hundreds of millions of dollars even at the price of gold and silver at that time which of course [would] be a much more productive figure on today's prices. But that's the mining part of it.

Most of the work that came in was involved with mining understandably, the location of claims, attempting to get them to patent, and the annual assessment work, and things of that kind. And there were not too many mining lawyers throughout the state.

My predecessor in Virginia City, W. Howard Gray, was one of the best of the mining lawyers.

And this particular period of time, mining was very inactive. Most of the legal work as such was involving the locations of claims and the filing of annual labor and things of that kind. I don't believe that there was any real controversy over mines during the time I was there. A suit involving ownership or whether the claim would be correctly founded. Of course you understand that in the earlier days litigation was manifold and created many, many extremely wealthy lawyers during its height, during the bonanza, but nothing like that was occurring during the time that I was there. Most of the problems were the problems that are involved in any county, and involved primarily the county commissioners and their general legal problems which they have today as they had then, have always had in any county organization around the entire United States actually because there are legal problems that are coming up from time to time. Most of the work of the district attorney's office was involved around the county commissioners.

As I say, I've always considered my life in Storey County as one of the most interesting of my own life. The people were true westerners. They were friendly. They had the same problems that any mining camp has, the growing problems. There were the rustlers and the hustlers. There were those that were promoting, and there were those that were just—sincerely loved [the] camp in which they were born, wanted to live out their days there. And so it was an amalgam—a cross-section of western life. I think it was as typical as you could find anywhere in the United States at least of a mining camp because it had had its glory; it was somewhat dying out, and they were still, many of them, living in the memory of the past.

The county officers were all very typical western people. Agnes Hamilton was a widow who was the county clerk and whose life revolved around being a county clerk. She had lost her husband many, many years ago in some mining accident and remained a widow. She had one daughter as I recall. The county recorder was [P. J.] Paddy Corcoran who spoke with a typical Irish brogue, and he married an Annie Righini, who is the aunt of Father Righini or Monsignor Righini, now stationed in Reno and in the Catholic Church.

But he was number one, a devout Catholic; he was number two, a strong Democrat; and number three, he was a member of the Eagles Lodge. And he rather took me under his wing to try to guide me around the vicissitudes of being a politician. And I can always recall what he said, "Well now, there's the two things that you have to do in Virginia City and in Storey County, if you're going to be any success at all as a politician. Number one, you're gonna have to be a Democrat" (and there was no other political party except that of being a Democrat, in his judgment). He said, "That's the first requirement, and the second requirement is that you're going to have to join the Eagles lodge." So he said, "If you're a Democrat, and if you're an Eagle, then you'll have a good start in being a successful politician." I followed his advice and did join Eagles lodge which at that time was a fairly active little lodge on the Comstock Lode, and of course that broadened out—that broadened my contacts and was valuable in later life in politics.

Paddy Corcoran had come over as a miner, and he contracted miner's consumption, went to Weimar in California, later passed away because of silicosis of the lungs. But he was a fast and dear friend, and we crawled around many of his old diggin's. He lived with eternal hope with the next blast of dynamite there

would be a bonanza unearthed. Unfortunately for him there never was.

After his death his wife went along to be county clerk for a number of years. They again were typical of the early-day pioneers, the stock of which mining camps are made. She, I believe, died in the same office that he'd held for so many years as auditor and recorder of Virginia City, and her people still survive her; and then of course she was related to Father Righini, one of the native priests who has done so extremely well with his mission in life in the Catholic Church.

I was very fortunate during the period I was district attorney in Virginia City and that was just a little over two years, maybe two and a half years, I had some strong men as county commissioners. I can certainly remember Albert Evans extremely well and Otto Tannehill and James Stoddart were the first county commissioners when I went there. And they were each truly hard-rock miners. Jim Stoddart was the oldest of the group, and I think he was the Republican of the group. Albert Evans and Otto Tannehill were both hard-rock miners and were both Democrats. They worked as a team, and they were always very considerate of me as a young lawyer just starting out practice. And of course they talked over their legal problems and solicited my advice on what they should do on this problem or that problem. And of course they followed the advice very well. There was very, very little discord in whatever opinion and finding I arrived at. And of course I had to defend my opinion if it involved a case that ultimately got to court and had to handle the decision of a judge or a jury. But we had a very remarkable degree of success, and we kept our differences down to a minimum.

And I sat in on every single county commissioner meeting. As I remember it, we met on the fifth day of each month or if the

fifth came on a Sunday, it was the following Monday. And we tried to clean up all of the business of the county within one day which normally we could do and did do. And so it was just the standard questions that can be encountered in everyday life by a governing board of a county. We had the pensions that were to be allowed or the relief that was to be allowed and what we did about the hospital and who they should hire and how many they should hire; of course the usual budget questions which are inherent in any organization, and they were hard-pressed to raise enough money to take care of what the constant demands were. They appointed the police chief, and then they appointed their road commissioner. There weren't too many road problems in Virginia City because it didn't have much chuckling] of a road system being a small county and being a small county and being on the state system, so that was helpful. And then they usually had the JP in there.

And at the time that I went there, the JP was a man by the name of Lou Otten who had a very limited education, but had a very keen built-in sense of justice. And he and I worked very closely together as any district attorney does with his justice of peace. He was followed by a man by the name of Harry Hunter, and I believe Harry served there during the balance of the time that I was up there as a district attorney. There were always problems involving prostitution which has always been an on-again-off-again proposition in Nevada. There was an open line during the time that I was there. I believe it was closed up one time because of a death that occurred in one of the houses of prostitution, and that was about the quickest way to close down an open house of any that I know. When I first went there nothing was thought of it. They kept their own place in the community and didn't surface. They were down on one of the

lower streets, down below the main street, and they caused no undue problems until this one death, and of course that led to the outright closing, and I don't know whether they ever reopened again or not.

The county commissioners I think had only one change—two, I believe, during the time I was there. Ray Peek came on as a county commissioner in 1936 I believe. And he was a typical hard-rock miner, very well-admired and thought of by the people of the community and an excellent man as a county commissioner. And then later on I think the following year Sam [Silvio] Mariani came on as a county commissioner. He has many relatives and children who survive him. Both of these men, in fact all of the county commissioners with whom I have served, have passed on.

I mentioned the deputy sheriff in indicating my first case there, but his full sheriff was T. L. James; and he was sheriff of the county and was sheriff of the county I think during all the time I was there. I think he was followed by Will Cobb, who was a state senator from Virginia City. He's the father of Ty Cobb, the splendid newswriter and sportswriter for the *Nevada State Journal*. And they were the two sheriffs with whom I worked, T. L. James and Will Cobb, who was also a state senator prior to—either prior to his being elected as sheriff or afterwards. I haven't checked that point out. But he served in both capacities, not at the same time. But he was either a state senator and then a sheriff, or a sheriff and then a state senator. And he was—he was very popular. He was registered as an Independent, as I remember; and he always told the legend about his son being named Ty Cobb was after the famous baseball player, the "Georgia Peach."

During the time of my service as district attorney, a Flannery Lewis who had some ties

to the people in Virginia City had written a book entitled *Suns Go Down*. And it was published by the Macmillan Publishing Company. It was rather derogatory of Virginia City and said something to the effect that all that remained in Virginia City were lizards and prostitutes. This upset many of the citizens in Virginia City, so they demanded as district attorney that I sue them for libel and demand a retraction, and the book should be prevented from being published in the future. I attempted to, with the help and assistance of one of the Leonards in New York City, to secure some type of a satisfactory retraction from MacMillan Company. And they would not withdraw their book from publication, but they did publish a narrative that was written by me to the effect that there was also mining there, and Flannery Lewis had taken some rather narrow and spectacular means of trying to put into his story things that were not completely true. I hope that the statement that I wrote about Virginia City had some overall effect. I never actually followed through to see the number of books that were sold. My later experience in life would probably indicate to me that after I wrote the demand and presented my side of the case and it was reincorporated in the book, they probably sold more books than they would have if nothing had been said. But anyway, that's an incident in the life of a district attorney of a mining camp that I think probably should be mentioned.

The early day leaders of our Democratic party in Virginia City at that time were John Kelly, a very close and dear friend of mine, bookkeeper for the Arizona Comstock. A man that came out of Iowa, who came out as a number one, Democrat; a number two, Irishman; number three, a man who had very little regard for the English and felt in his true Irish background they had been mistreated

for many, many years by the English. He never hesitated to say so. He had a myriad of friends and was very outspoken in all of his beliefs. He believed in the Irish; he believed in being a good American; he believed that there was nothing except Democrats; and he believed that the mining camp was going to come back. Such was the character of one of the many men in our Democratic organization in Virginia City at that time.

The organization of our state Democratic committee from Virginia City and Storey County was always very interesting and usually was in my office as district attorney. And we usually had a total of four or five there who nominated each other to attend the state convention, and there was never any real competition for it primarily because it was a nonpaying office, and they just took it for granted that it was going to be Democratic, and it usually was. And so the Democratic convention meetings that we held preparatory to going to the state convention wherever it might be, Reno or Ely or Las Vegas or Lovelock or Winnemucca or wherever, was always very mild, very quickly attended to; and we would always recess to one of the local pubs for an after dinner drink after the serious business of selecting our delegates was concluded.

The Democrats came along very strongly in the state of Nevada, and there was an organization of Young Democrats in the state. I was a charter member of their first organization. It came about rather naturally because of the emergence of Democrats everywheres in the nation, headed up by their leader FDR, who certainly was one of the greatest presidents of our time and certainly brought to the people of the United States, hope during the—coming out of a very bad depression during the latter years of Hoover's presidency. And that was felt in the state of

Nevada. There were quite a number of charter members of the Young Democrats.

I took a very active part in the Democratic organization of Storey County, but also because of my age, with the Young Democrats of Storey County. And there were many there with whom I associated during my entire career. And some are here and some have gone on. And there were the Gallaghers, always very active, Merv and Doc and Hugh. Merv later became the state mining inspector. There was Jim Gladding, who later became the postmaster at Virginia City. There was Clint Andreason, who was a local bar owner and a very, very successful businessman, and many others among that younger group that were very active in the Young Democrats of the state of Nevada. Berkeley Bunker was one of the charter members, later to become a U.S. senator. Malcolm McEachin, long-time secretary of state, was an active Democrat. Jerry Donovan, who was a state controller, was a very active Young Democrat. Jack Halley, whose two sons still practice law in Reno, was a very active Democrat, a Young Democrat. Bill Woodburn was also a member of our group; Virg Wedge, who is presently in his firm; Gordon Rice, are other names that come immediately to mind.

It was fairly active during those earlier years because I think we had considerable success at the polls, and out of that grew the opportunity for employment, either appointive or in many instances, elective, running for the office. There was [Calvin] Kelly Banigan, a local constable who is now employed in Washington, D.C., but was very active in those early and formative days. That was spread throughout the state, mainly stemming, as most political activity does even today, to the two main areas, number one, to the Reno environs—Reno and its environs, and by that I mean Carson City

and Virginia City and Reno and Sparks, this general western area; secondly the south, which would be Clark County, and I usually lump Lincoln County with Clark County, and White Pine was always strongly Democratic and always supplied many younger men who were active in the Young Democrat organization. And then going up the Humboldt River, which is usually the situs of the so-called cow counties of the state, you had Pershing County which was Lovelock, you had Humboldt County which was Winnemucca, you had Lander County which was Battle Mountain and Austin, and you had Eureka County which was Eureka. And then going on you had Elko County which basically was Elko and Wells and Carlin; and White Pine County further to the east and somewhat to the south, which was primarily Ely and McGill, Riepetown; and then dropping down to the county immediately south took you to Pioche and to Panaca, to Caliente, Alamo, all in Lincoln County. And in each of those areas there was a certain group of young people, all about the same age who were taking an increasing interest in governments; some would run for county offices, and they served as the nucleus for the Young Democrats of Nevada.

And during that particular period of time, I think they were fairly active. And they've had periods of increased activity; they always generate a considerable amount of enthusiasm about campaign time. And then if their interest lagged understandably, if they don't receive the employment they're looking for or if their—if they get busy on other than political missions in life, then they lose their interest and there's a lull and a lag in the organization. Young Democrats I think have had their ups and downs. I suppose they always will but that's how it started.

*An attempt to kind of take it away from the "moss backs?"*

Well, the "Young Turks," I'd think you'd call 'em, is right. There's always that in younger people. They feel that they can do better than the olders, and many cases they couldn't and many cases they can. But it's an infusion of new blood, and I think a very helpful sign because it keeps you younger. And sometimes the oldsters would resent it, and sometimes they wouldn't pay much attention to it, so it works both ways. But that, really, is about the history of the Young Democrats. I don't know whether there's any written history of the Young Democrats or not.

John Cavanaugh was very active; you should put his name in there 'cause he was very active. He represented the middle part of the state; he represented Tonopah, and he was active. Ray Germain was very active, and Charlie Cavanaugh, who was John's brother—he's since passed on too—he was very active. Bill Maher, who was Alice Maher's husband—later became deputy mining inspector and was killed in a mining accident—was very active. Swackhamer, Bill and Bruce Swackhamer were very active. Johnny Hart—I ought to mention him, the constable here—he had more energy; he kept busier than anybody. The names just pop out all over as I, you know, start thinkin' about it. Ken Buck—Dickersons—should mention them, Harvey and Denver, George. Of course their father was lieutenant governor and governor of the state, as you know. Mrs. Dickerson was a long-time librarian for the Washoe County Law Library. Now names just pop out almost all over the place.

*Well, they're interesting because they became the Democratic party.*

Yeah, they did. They kind of emerged into it. The young members became the olders, and then they kind of took charge of it.

There were in nineteen hundred and thirty-six about five or six hundred votes cast. In 1936 I had the type of a political contest that everyone looks forward to in the political world and that was that I was unopposed for district attorney, and so I secured that position as district attorney for another term and would have lived out the full term, had I not taken the position of deputy attorney general of the state of Nevada.

I think it's worthy of mention that Judge Guild was district judge for the area during my tenure. I always had a very fine working relationship with Judge Guild. This was his circuit, and this is his district. He held court normally on one day of the week in Virginia City if there was a calendar that demanded his attention. And he was very accommodating about coming to Virginia City in hearing whatever cases we had. As I've indicated earlier, most of the cases in those days were divorce cases and because of the difference in the fee system, I think many were attracted to come to Virginia City. Of course that was a revenue item for the coffers of Storey County, and they did need all the assistance that we could get.

Zeb Kendall was an early day pioneer who came from Tonopah and had been in mining all of his life, and he was an imposing figure, great physical specimen. He must have been six-two or -three and weighed two hundred, two hundred and twenty-five pounds—had done well, had had bonanza and *borrasca* throughout the course of his life. He had made great sums of money, and he lost great sums of money. He loved to play cards, and he won some and he lost some, but he never

lost, or never appeared to lose his great sense of humor. Many stories were told about him, and they should very well be recorded. If I remember, one—this may have been in Tonopah rather than Virginia City—some card game he was behind many thousands of dollars. He had promised his wife he'd be home with some meat from the butcher shop at a certain hour. When that hour came he just said, "Well, got to take this steak home, due home at five P.M.; Belle (his wife's name) will be expecting me, and I don't want to disappoint her. And this'll probably be the most expensive steak she's ever had," because at that time he was running well behind. But he was another one of the legendary characters of the Comstock.

Jim Leonard was another, and he had the water company. He had a brother, Franklin, who was one of the co-founders of the American Stock Exchange in New York. And they had their ups and their downs in the mining world, but they were citizens of Virginia City who lived there for so many, many years.

There was a character by the name of John Bowie, who must have belonged to the Eagles lodge almost forever because he was their senior member, as I recall, was honored just a short few years ago. I think now has passed away, but he was a hard-rock miner. And he would not leave the camp for any other place in the world because this was where he was born and raised and lived, and this is where he was gonna die. Many characters flitted across the scene then, some of them getting along in years, but there was an unusual tie between the so-called "hot water plugs." They all had a certain allegiance to each other, and they felt that if you were born in Virginia City that you had a superior claim, I think, on life and maybe even on death over anybody else.

Even though they might have scrapped among themselves now and then, any time anybody would come in and say anything that was derogatory to those that lived in Virginia City, they had a fight on their hands. It was typical of the loyalties and again of a Nevada mining camp. It wasn't singular to Virginia City, but it was typical as I see it of the closeness or a tie that comes about in times of illness or misfortune. They were always there to help their neighbor. Something that you just don't see today, we saw in those particular days. And of course Virginia City has come into a different phase of life now. I don't think it's the same as it was because of tourism and commercialism. When I first went there it was made up almost entirely of people who were actually born there. There were exceptions, but by and large it was the "hot water plug" of old who was there.

One incident that comes to mind that taught me something in life very early, something that I think should always be borne in mind by all of us really, and that is that one evening when I'd been out with the boys, so to speak, coming home there was a wonderful little couple staggerin' on down the main street of Virginia City, and they were berating each other. And the husband was hitting the wife. I was the new promising young district attorney, and so I thought it was my duty to step between the two and to try to tell them to quit fighting and resolve their problems or try to help them with whatever their quarrel was about. So I stepped between them and suggested that they stop—that he stop hitting his wife and he shouldn't be doin' that, that was his wife, and they'd been married a number of years. I was ashamed to see him doin' that. So she turned to me and told me, "Well, young man, just mind your own damn business. This is my husband. If he wants to

hit me, he can. But in any event, it's no part of your life; just 'cause you're district attorney, you can't try to tell my husband what he can do to me." So with that I learned the lesson that when you get in a family quarrel, you better be careful what you're doing.

They were typical little couples that got in an argument after a wee bit too much of the grape, and so I've always tried to remember that as one lesson. That is, don't get yourself mixed up in a domestic quarrel because if you do, you're about to be the fall guy for them and not vice versa. So, one lesson that you pick up, and I've always remembered and afterwards they'd come and ask me for legal advice. It didn't bother them very much that I attempted to intervene. And those are a few little incidents that come up as we're rambling along and filling in some of the spots in the Virginia City life. It was a great life. We played lots of cards during that period of time because we had some times during the winter months when it was almost impossible to get out of Virginia City; the roads were being improved, but they still couldn't keep them clear of snow when we had a hard winter. And I think we had two hard winters during the period of time when I was there. So, it was a life of a mining camp that was holding on with all the spirit that it had at its command to try to bring back again the glories of the bonanzas of the past.

The Gallaghers were a very important faintly in the life of Virginia City. Merv Gallagher was later to become the mining inspector, the chief mining inspector of the state. He had grown up in the mines; he was a hard-rock miner; he had a beautiful wife; he had raised a very fine family; he had brothers who were active in the school system of Virginia City and the Comstock Lode, and one still serves as a principal there. They were all great athletes.

Virginia City over the years always had one of the best basketball teams in the state of Nevada, and there weren't many people there at the high school, Storey County High School. During the time I was there—during WPA days or PWA days we were successful in acquiring new buildings.

We had a fine board of school trustees, but they felt that their principal, Jack Gilmartin, and their coach, Jake Lawlor, probably had outlived their usefulness in the school system of Storey County. So they determined that they would not renew their contract. The word got out—I think this was the last year I was at Virginia City myself—the word got out that they were not renewing the contract. The students took a dim view of that because they very much admired Jake Lawlor and Jack Gilmartin, so they decided and voted for a strike. They were gonna strike. They weren't gonna go to school. So Jack Gilmartin himself called me and said, "Alan, I want you to come down and give a talk to these students 'cause they're about to—they're about to strike. And," he says, "even though it affects me," he says, "I don't want to question the power of the board of school trustees. I wish you'd come back and come down and give them a talk."

And so being young and vigorous and inexperienced, I said, "Sure, I'll come down, maybe I can help you." So I went down and made what I thought was a par excellence talk. They gave me a big hand, and we walked around to the front of the building—I can see it today—with Jack Gilmartin and Jake Lawlor, and the students had stayed on in their assembly hall for a period of time. And then all of a sudden the entire rush came on, and the entire student body left right then and there and went on a strike!

So it proved to me that I didn't have quite the influence that I thought I had. And they stayed out on strike for two or three days,

and finally they went back. The board of school trustees prevailed. Both Jack Gilmartin and Jake Lawlor went on to better teaching positions, and both improved themselves after this event. But it was another show of independence and vigor of a mining camp. Maybe the enthusiasm of a group of young students who wanted to rebel or seems to have been rebellion against leaders in schools, all our educational life. And I suppose there always will be some type of demonstrations either for or against. But this was the first time I'd ever come abreast of it myself on a personal basis. And I think it proved to me that you've got to have some, some very definite, positive reason to back up what you're attempting to do or you simply won't succeed in it. This was certainly true in this instance because it might have been all right for me to be down there tryin' to tell them what to do, just like it might have been all right for me to try to tell this husband to quit beatin' his wife, but really it wasn't any part of my business. And I think there might have been some resentment, and here I was feeling too cocky, trying to impress too many people with my importance. I think it taught me a very definite lesson in humility. And I've always felt those were two very definite lessons that were taught early in life that I hope made me a little more understanding of other people's problems. I don't think the strike was justified, nor do I think that it really did any harm because it lasted quickly and they settled back and everybody was really better off for it. So I think maybe that teaches you something in treating your public when you're [in] a public official capacity. This was my first public office in the state of Nevada. School went on, students went on, and they seemed to receive a fine education, and they were the better off for it.

I know one incident that I've always rather prided myself on that occurred in Virginia

City. They had no fire department, and they asked me if I would try to help them organize a volunteer fire department, and I did. And so we had a very fine little volunteer fire department, and we drew the proper papers. And they'd had, earlier fire departments, of course, but they had died out. So this was a—this was a revival of the Virginia City volunteer fire department, and as near as I know it's still in existence today and is a fairly effective weapon in fighting fires when they get into Virginia City. I don't know—I think maybe they have one or two paid members on their fire department now. We didn't have any at that time in nineteen hundred and thirty-eight. And so I found myself carrying out the role of being a fireman as well as being a district attorney. But that is another memory, a pleasant one that comes back in action of the social life of the community.

I had something to do with the founding of the Business Men's Association in Virginia City. I think that could very well be compared to a chamber of commerce. And we remained active for a number of years. I don't know whether it has fallen into use, active use, whether it's gone forward or not, but of course the obvious aims were to improve the conditions of Virginia City, improve the transportation, attempt to get business activities in that area and things of that kind. So it did serve a very worthwhile purpose, and again I'm rather proud of the fact that I was one of the early leaders in that enterprise.

During the time that I was there, one of the most colorful attractions was the V & T [Virginia and Truckee] Railroad coming into Virginia City and running between Virginia City and Reno. And that was a colorful ride. It went across the long trestle at Crown Point in Gold Hill, and the Leonards had found some indication of a good ore body there, so they

undertook to replace the trestle and move it from its old location. And the V & T ran for a short period of time after that, and it's just too bad as one looks back that that right-of-way and the train is not still running. But it simply couldn't break even, and it would have been very heavily subsidized. But they are attractions; they're a part of a community, they're a history of a community. And the V & T life story is in itself a legend of the money that it made, of the holdups it had had, and the freight that was charged, the millionaires it had produced in its heyday. And so that is a story and a part by itself.

I want to make particular mention as we start out, about my long-time and dear friend and political and legal ally, W. Howard Gray, who passed away yesterday [June 21, 1978] in Reno, Nevada, after a long bout with poor health. Howard Gray was very—in my life was very closely intertwined as I started into the practice of law.

Howard Gray, who kept rather close track of me, and we became very fast friends—lasted a lifetime—had an opportunity offered to him about two or three years after he had been deputy attorney general of the state by the Kennecott Copper Company to come on as their chief counsel, but he would have to be stationed in Ely. So he considered it for a long period of time, finally accepted, and finally gave his resignation to Gray Mashburn, who was the attorney general of the state, and saying that he was going to accept the position as chief counsel of Kennecott Copper Company in Nevada, and that he was going to Ely to live and that would create a vacancy in the attorney general's office of Nevada. He advised me what he was going to do, so I had a little advance notice on it. And the position then was offered to me by Gray Mashburn on Howard Gray's recommendation.

And so I had not earlier known Gray Mashburn or anyone in his office. It was a small attorney general's office at that time, and I think it had—Gray Mashburn was the attorney general of the state; Bill Mathews was his deputy; and Howard Gray was his second deputy. And we had supporting secretarial and clerical help. But that was the total strength of the attorney general's office, nineteen hundred and thirty-eight it was. And I pondered the question of going on into Carson City. I was not married at that time, and probably Howard Gray in urging me to come into Carson City had probably as much as any one man to do with my having made a decision to follow rather a political, a political trend or a political course of action.

So I accepted the offer that came in, was selected as deputy attorney general of Nevada. And that was in nineteen hundred and thirty-eight. And shortly after that I moved from Virginia City to Carson City where I was to live for the next thirteen years. Don Richards followed me as district attorney of Storey County. And he had been formerly a school teacher, and I think his last post of duty had been in Dayton, but he had gone into Reno, become admitted to practice law, and came to Virginia City as my successor. In turn I went to Carson City as the successor of Howard Gray, who had in turn gone to Ely and was to remain in Ely for many, many years and later to return in a later part of his life as a lawyer here in Reno.

Thereafter, Howard Gray urged me many times to join him in Ely as an associate of Kennecott Copper Company, and it probably is at that juncture of my life that I made a decision to stay on as deputy attorney general in Nevada and remain in Carson City. Had I chosen otherwise and gone to Ely, I probably would have followed a strict professional legal

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life rather than becoming involved in politics as I was.

So Howard Gray, as I say, and I shared many, many legal experiences. After I was elected as the U.S. senator from Nevada and he was the chief counsel for Kennecott Copper Company, he frequently visited me in Washington, D.C. and in Nevada on problems involving the mining industry of the state. I think it's in tribute to him that he was one of the ablest mining lawyers that I have ever known. He was a past master of mining law, and he held responsible positions within the American Mining Congress in heading up their legislative program year after year, and they looked on him and leaned upon him to make presentations before the Congress of the United States, be it on the House side or on the Senate side, to present their cause. He always did it with great expertise and great effectiveness. And his loss has, I think, been felt already in the years of his declining health by the Mining Congress because I don't know of anyone that has taken his place on the national level in presenting the mining industry's position on so many subjects that they have. He was a past master at it, and not only a great mining lawyer, a great general lawyer, but also a wonderful, warm human being.

He was rated, I believe, in the Nevada legislature time after time as one of the ablest, if not the ablest, lobbyist in the capitol of our state. So he had a rich and a full life and had many achievements to back it up.

It was with misgivings and mingled emotions that I left Virginia City because it gave me so many pleasant moments and so many interesting events to remember and ponder for a long time. I know that subsequent to my leaving there, I was constantly asked to come-back and make graduation speeches at

commencement time, which is an event that occurs even now. I don't know how many total speeches I've made to the graduating seniors of the Comstock high school, Storey County High School, but there's been many; and I've made talks to the Gold Hill school district. And I think that all becomes a part and parcel of any district attorney's activities when he becomes active in the community.



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## THE NEVADA STATE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE, 1938-1950

### THE FIRST YEARS

The opportunity came to me to go as a deputy attorney general to Carson City because of Howard Gray moving on to a private position with Kennecott Company in Ely. The opportunity was one that I couldn't turn down, not because I didn't like my work in Storey County, but the future and the range of work was far greater. And the opportunity was far greater as I moved on into a larger area, and namely the deputy attorney general, not only a lawyer for one county, but one of the lawyers for an entire state. In moving into Carson City, I was privileged to become very well acquainted at that time and in subsequent years with Gray Mashburn, the then attorney general of the state of Nevada.

Gray Mashburn was a native of Arkansas, and his people were active in the political life of that state. If my memory serves me well, one of his brothers had been a lifetime state highway engineer or its equivalent in the state of Arkansas. Gray Mashburn was a very imposing figure; he was a very tall,

handsome man. He was *very*, very serious. I can always remember him primarily with his close connection with the Odd Fellows lodge. He was almost the spokesman for the Odd Fellows lodge. He was a serious campaigner and always ran terrific races, and races that over the years materialized in his selection. He was a former partner of Pat McCarran, before Pat McCarran had gone on to Washington as a U.S. senator. And they were close and dear friends over many years.

There's always one story about Gray Mashburn that I like to tell. He was very ponderous, and his decisions were probably very long. He had a running feud with Jack McCloskey, who is the longtime editor of the *Mineral County Independent*. As a matter of fact, Jack McCloskey is still one of the leading newspaper editors of the state, still runs the *Mineral County Independent* and still fights for Mineral County with a passion. I've always referred to him as the "mayor" of Mineral County, though they have no city government. He's as close to a mayor as you can imagine. He's a brilliant writer. He's

a great historian, and he, I think, fancies himself a lawyer. As a matter of fact, I think he probably knows as much about the law as almost any non-lawyer or lawyer in the state of Nevada. And he was constantly critical of Gray Mashburn's opinions, particularly on the rights of those stationed at the Hawthorne NAD [Naval Ammunition Depot] and the military establishment to vote.

And the Constitution is rather clear on the point. I think Gray Mashburn was correct, the attorney general was correct, but Jack McCloskey, either for provincial reasons or because of his sincere conviction that the Constitution didn't mean what it said, always took issue with Gray Mashburn. And Gray Mashburn made an opinion that would be adverse to the interests of Mineral County and those who were there on a military assignment. And Gray Mashburn would constantly answer the editorials of Jack McCloskey, and Jack McCloskey would, again, in a few short words just answer General Mashburn's editorials. I think this is where I first learned and the message sunk in, that there's one thing you couldn't do, is win a battle with a newspaper, because they always have the last word.

Be that as it may, the election of that particular year came up, and Lloyd Smith, a very prominent lawyer in Reno, Nevada, was running on the Republican ticket for the attorney general's position of the state, and Gray Mashburn, of course, on the Democratic ticket. Gray Mashburn won the attorney general's race very easily, but he lost Mineral County which was one of the bastions of the Democratic party, actually, very strongly registered Democratic. But he could never shake that from his feelings about Mineral County. And I believe I'm correct in saying that from that day on, he never would stop in Mineral County. It was always a joke around

the attorney general's office, he'd never stop in Mineral County to gas up; he gassed up either on one side of Mineral County or the other side. That probably would have been Fallon on the north or Yerington on the north, as you go south into Vegas, or Coaldale in Nye County on the south. But near as I know, he never went back to Mineral County after his loss in that particular year. He was getting along in years at this time, and I suppose it did hurt his pride after all the things that he had done or tried to do for Mineral County because he was a member of the highway board, as the attorney general was by statute. He'd done many fine things for Mineral County.

The attorney general then and the attorney general during my time as attorney general and the time of Bill Mathews (who were the three attorney generals over the number of years during that period of time in the late '30s and into the '40s, who has held the duties of the attorney general) has held very closely the attorney general's office; and I note in more recent years that the various departments have—each have their own individual lawyers now. And we fought that move just as a matter of policy because we felt that the legal advisors for the state should be the attorney general because that's what the law indicated and provided for.

Gray Mashburn had only two deputies to cover the entire range of problems that came before him. He had one first deputy, who was Bill Mathews; and then a second deputy, who was Howard Gray for a number of years, and then the position to which I held for some five years after that. And it remained at about that level through my entire tenure with the exception of adding special lawyers for bill drafting purposes during the legislature. But it was a very modest staff, and I think as I reflect back on it that it probably needed more beefing up than we were able to give it

or than the legislature was willing to allow us. So we held at that level during that particular range of years.

The population of the state was about oh, a hundred and ten or a hundred and twenty thousand people during that period of time. And since then, and brought to date here in 1977, has probably proliferated by about five-fold. I suppose the population overall in the state of Nevada is around five hundred and fifty thousand, give or take. I think that's a pretty good figure to compute the differences in the personnel. But as the state grew, the personnel grew, and probably grew even more than it should have. There's always an argument about having too many people work for government, and I think in many instances that point is well taken. It's one that's always difficult to prove because you don't know exactly how hard or how diligently the public employees are working.

I would say this, and I think it comes based upon some forty years of public service that by and large and overall, the public servant and the public official in whatever capacity, is a pretty faithful individual. I think he's loyal to his cause; and I think he does work reasonably hard; and I think he's dedicated to the good of his county or his state or his nation as the case may be. There are exceptions of course as there are in all lines of business, but I think a post of public duty is an important responsibility. I think it's an important part of your citizenship, and over the years in many talks I've made before graduating classes either on the grammar or the high school level, on occasion the college level, I've always urged the graduates among other things, whatever their niche in life might be—whether it's as a housewife or as a civil engineer or as a farmer or as a merchant or as a professional man—they ought to dedicate some part of that life to

serving on a school board or serving on a advisory committee to one of the many, many committees that we have throughout the state and nation because it's an eye-opener. I think jury duty is another very important obligation of citizenship, and I think should be entered into freely and voluntarily. I know sometimes it is arduous and may cause certain sacrifices on the part of the individual, but nevertheless it is a part of our American citizenship and a duty of our American citizenship. I think the more participation we have on every level by local citizenry, the stronger a nation we'll have. I've constantly suggested that in making graduation speeches; and not only that, it's a rewarding experience. And most people with whom I have talked who have accepted either a position on the school board or on a hospital board or on any type of government agency in an advisory capacity, come away with a little more respect for those people who are working in government and attempting to keep it on an even keel. This seems to be the proper place to indicate that it's one that I feel very keenly.

The attorney general's office back in '38, as I indicated, was a three-man office. Gray Mashburn of course was the commander-in-chief. He made the assignments. In general he handled the heavier cases and the heavier opinions or the more controversial opinions himself. He was inclined to write at length on the subjects that were addressed to him.

His second deputy was Bill Mathews, who was an old railroad man who had injured his legs in a railroad accident, walked with a distinct limp. And he too was a devout Odd Fellow and a great member of the brotherhoods, and they were great supporters of him because he was always on the side of the railroad engineer, or the conductor, or the brakeman, and he was assigned all those cases which involved the car limit cases, the railroad

limit cases. Many, many dollars and many, many months of litigation ensued, and finally, the limitation on the length of a train was held unconstitutional. And Bill Mathews was probably not only the leading lawyer in it, but he had firsthand knowledge having worked on the railroad and been injured on a railroad. It was an advantage to him over the other characters in the scenario in determining the constitutionality of the car limit case. That's one example of cases that were assigned properly to a man who had the most savvy and most know-how, most expertise in the field. And he handled that case.

But they were my two superior officers when I went in. One was, of course, Gray Mashburn. The next one was [William T.] Bill Mathews, and Bill Mathews was another striking specimen of a man. He was tall, he was well built, he was a senior deputy, and he was an Odd Fellow. And at the first time that—or the time that I did run when Gray Mashburn retired, Bill Mathews ran and I was the second deputy. There were only three lawyers in the office, one was Gray Mashburn and then Bill Mathews, the senior deputy, and I was the junior deputy. That was a time when we could handle the legal opinions of the entire state with three lawyers. That's no longer true. And of course as government has grown (and in many places out of control), it's required more and more lawyers and more legal expertise.

But in this particular race, the race was between Bill Mathews and myself in the primary. As I look back, I always did regret a little, running against Bill Mathews, but I was younger, represented youth, probably thought I could reform the world, which I have many times since, found out I couldn't do it. But, in any event, I won the primary against Bill Mathews. And from that point, I went on to run for the general election and was successful

there, and then was reelected for my second term, as I recall it, without opposition.

Bill Mathews felt very bitter over this for a period of time, but time took care of it, and I immediately made him my first deputy, and he was with me during my entire tour of eight years as the attorney general of the state and did great work. And then when I retired, he ran for attorney general and was elected and was an able attorney general and a very fine lawyer. He had been hurt in a railroad accident, and it did cripple him, and he had a limp. In addition to that, he had a hearing problem and became very hard of hearing, which, of course, is a handicap to all of us as we get older and has hit many, many people. But those are the people with whom I served actually and actively during my early attorney general days.

By way of parallel, another very fine judge had the same type of background and that was Clark Guild, who was workin' on the railroad and whose leg was badly injured and may have even been amputated; I'm not sure—I think it was. And that turned him to the practice of law. He became a lawyer and then a long-time judge and one of the great Nevadans and the actual—the founder, if any one person should be credited with the founding of an institution, it's Clark Guild, Sr., and his founding of the Nevada Museum, which really has become a major attraction in the [state's] capitol in Carson City by the acquisition of the old Mint building and its building and renovating and improving as time went along. And primary credit for that should go to Clark Guild. He enlisted the aid, of course, of Major Fleischmann, who was a close personal friend of his; and Major Fleischmann had the wherewithal and the money to be of great assistance to the museum and to the state of Nevada.

And of course Major Fleischmann, I've always paid him tribute in whatever type of

talks I'm giving for the very fact that here was a man who was a multi-millionaire and at least left a great deal of his wealth to the state of Nevada. The University of Nevada is one of the beneficiaries; the high schools are one of the beneficiaries, so many other institutions that could be remembered. I think it serves as a great lesson to the many wealthy people that come to Nevada when they answer that final summons, if they're able to do it, they should leave at least a part of their vast wealth to a state which made so much of it possible.

Major Fleischmann, of course, didn't make his wealth in Nevada. He came here from California, mainly because that's one of the great things that California did for us [was] throw the multi-millionaire into Nevada, and his estate is finally to be distributed within the next several months. And it'd be interesting to see how the trustees—who over the years have managed this extremely well—how they finally make the disposition of the estate. As this inflationary cycle has gone on and values have gone up and prices almost out of sight, I think his estate is worth considerably more now than it was when it was first admitted for probate, and I believe that it probably appraises at something well over a hundred million dollars, which is a terrific amount of money to be disposed of. But that thought came to my mind because of his many, many fine acts of goodwill and appreciation during the time that he was alive to the state of Nevada. And it, again, I think serves as a wonderful lesson to people of immense wealth, after they've taken care—as they see to their families and other benefactors—leave something to the state of Nevada which makes so much of it possible.

And, so in everything that I have done in the way of speeches, I usually try to pay tribute to Major Fleischmann and to people of his character who have left some of their wealth

to the state of Nevada, which made so much of it possible. And he certainly is an excellent example; the will that he left and the trust that he left was one of the best that was ever drawn and is just being finally liquidated now.

But, back to the attorney general's office and a few of the reminiscences of those days, as deputy attorney general—. Well, I went on to run for the office and was elected, defeating Bill Mathews in the primary and then winning the general election. In one of the general elections my opponent was Jack Ross, who was one of the leading Republicans and who was a very fine lawyer and later became a federal judge. I managed to defeat him in the general election and became the attorney general of the state after having won the nomination over Bill Mathews.

#### DUTIES, DECISIONS, AND COLLEAGUES

When I became attorney general, as I said, I retained Bill Mathews and put him in the top spot and put him in charge of the Clark County suit. One of the landmark cases, which I happened to handle as attorney general, involved the determination of how much money Clark County should be paid because Boulder Dam was built in Clark County, and it spanned the Colorado River between Arizona and Nevada and was located within Nevada in Clark County. The position, though, of the Clark County people was that that was an "in lieu of tax" payment and therefore it should be distributed in the same proportion as any other general tax, any general state tax. We took the position that that was not true—the state took the position that that was not true and that it was not spelled out in the federal legislation, as quite possibly it should have been. Later on in the federal statutes of the United States in many, many cases, there were "in lieu of

tax" payments, and that's become a rather popular way or an accepted and legal way to distribute federal funds where the *corpus* (or the body) has been removed from general taxation. And of course the United States government could not—did not let a tax suit against Boulder Dam, which was its creature, nor could Clark County tax it. And this was a long running battle over many, many years. And it was carried to the highest courts, and we sustained the position that it was not an "in lieu of tax" payment, and that the only people that could make the determination would be the state of Nevada because it was payable as spelled out in the federal statute in specific language: "payable to the state of Nevada." And that's where the payment of the three hundred thousand a year, which came from the federal government each and every year for fifty years, went. And then every time that those payments were made, Clark County would protest it to pave the way for a lawsuit. And the suits were decided—lawsuits—were decided adverse to Clark County's claim. We repeatedly recommended that it was a matter for the legislature to determine. And finally they did determine it, and they—after conference and compromise, give and take, as I recall it, they finally provided that out of the three hundred thousand that the state of Nevada was to receive from the United States government and specifically from the Bureau of Reclamation because it was their project, that the state of Nevada should pay to Clark County twenty percent. And I believe that percentage has pretty much held over the years.

I think the governing fathers of Clark County finally realized, as simply as a fact, that the birth of Boulder Dam created the largest county in the state because with the birth of Boulder Dam it's supplied recreational facilities, Lake Mead or Lake Mead Recreation

Area; more particularly, provided a firm supply of energy. And as you look back at that, Nevada had a share of the energy; it appears that that is not going to be enough and isn't enough, even now, to take care of all of the vast and generally unforeseen growth that came to Clark County and to Las Vegas and to Boulder City, Henderson and North Las Vegas and the other areas in Clark County.

So, that was one of the major suits which we handled during the time that I was attorney general and which I think came out on balance in fairly good style. As I say, that the office was composed of Bill Mathews, who was first deputy and later on became attorney general of the state succeeding me; and he was always a very active and a very effective attorney general. The other deputy in my staff was first Homer Mooney, who was a brilliant lawyer out of George Sanford's office, and he stayed with me until his death. He wrote many, many opinions, and he had a dry sense of humor which made itself felt not only in his everyday life and his conversation, but in many of his opinions showed some of the idiosyncrasies of people that get into law scraps and fights, and picked up humorous incidents that happened in everyday life and sometimes end up in the court. He was my deputy for many years.

I also had as my deputy during my tenure, George Annand. George Annand was a judge from Ely and White Pine County. He was a brilliant lawyer, but he was even a greater singer. He used to play stages in Pennsylvania and Maryland and in New York in his younger life. He had a tremendous voice with great, great qualities, and I have been told—I heard him sing many times and I thought he had a great voice, though I must confess I'm no particular judge of good singers—but he appealed to me, and I thought probably what they said about him was correct; and that

is, if he'd been of greater stature, he could have been a singer with the Metropolitan Opera, which of course was and I guess still is the great operatic or opera company of the United States, maybe in the world. But he was with me throughout his lifetime. Delightful individual. He lost a very close race in White Pine County as a city judge, a trial judge and a district judge; and it really destroyed his belief in the fairness of politics, and I thought it would be a great thing to take this man who had quality and who was an exemplary character and who was a good lawyer and take him out of that particular environment and bring him with me and give him a new life, which I hope I did, I think I did. And he lived in Carson City until his death. He was a fine deputy and worked out extremely well.

Now during that same period of time, I reemployed Gray Mashburn, who had chose not to run again for attorney general. I hired Gray Mashburn and young Dick Waters to serve on my staff in recodifying the school code. The school code was in terrible shape during that earlier period of time, and it was jumbled up and they took on— of, the monumental task of trying to recodify all of the school laws of the state. They finally accomplished it; it was submitted to the legislature; it was again passed, and I think serves as the basis for our present school code. Of course, there's always change in law because there's change in needs and requirements, but this served as the basic school code for the state of Nevada and with some changes is still the school code of the state of Nevada.

Another one of my early deputies was my lifetime law partner Bob McDonald, who is an interesting study in his own right. And I've often said that when Bob McDonald was born, they threw away the mold. He lived a—and is still very much alive—he lived a very novel

life. He was one of the fine pilots in World War II. You have to know him to appreciate what a fine pilot he could be because he had no fear, and he made many, many records with the Air Force. He started out as a second looey, and when he finished his service with the United States Air Corps, he came out as a lieutenant colonel. He's a skilled flyer; he flew both in the Aleutians in Alaska, and he flew P-38s in the Pacific Theater. He saw much action, received many decorations. He has a great sense of humor, a great business sense; and his father, Joe McDonald, who was the editor of the *Nevada State Journal* for many, many years was one of my chief political sponsors and mentors and guided me and gave me advice which I believe was of tremendous value to me as I carved out a political career in Nevada. And the only thing he ever asked me was if I'd give Bob McDonald, his son, a job.

He [Joe McDonald] was well-admired by the people in this area, and he and his wife were stalwart characters who gave to this community two sons, both of whom are law~yers and both of whom are very active. One was Bob McDonald, one was Joe McDonald, and many legends and stories can be told about each of them.

Joe McDonald [Jr.] was picked up and made a prisoner of war, spent most of his war days in a prison camp, and as a matter of fact one of the interesting stories and his father may have told it in his relating his oral history, but it was reported that he was killed and the word got back and the name, as I remember it, was exactly the same, Joe F. McDonald. And, they had a High Requiem Mass—the McDonalds were very strong, devout Catholics—and they had a Mass that I happened to attend myself since I've known all of the family so very, very closely, that—. And it was a sad funeral at the cathedral, and there were many, many people there. And

then a period of time after that, it was reported that he wasn't dead at all, and that they had the wrong McDonald; there was a McDonald, the same initials and the same spelling of the name, from Montana. And so Joe McDonald came back very much alive.

We used to hunt duck together, and he never had hip boots or rubber boots or anything; he just went into the in the Greenhead Hunting Club and swamped around and he couldn't hit a duck if he had to, but he still liked to get out there. Said it didn't bother him at all because he'd been living in the rice paddies of Japan for many years. And many people felt that he would never come back because he was a member of our Nevada football team at the University and he played without a helmet, and most people thought maybe he got one too many blows on the head. But it never bothered him, and he went on not only to come out of the war alive and well, but he said, and he told me this many times? that he taught them how to play American gambling games and he came back with more money than they put him in the prison camp with. So it would be typical of him and people that know Joe McDonald will remember that incident, but the unusual thing was to have him come back after having been given up for dead. And I can always recall one little incident—he came back and people that knew him so very well said, "Now we bought you five dollars worth of flowers, and we want you to pay us back, because we shouldn't have bought 'em, but we banked up the cathedral with a lot of flowers and now it's no more than fair [that] you give us back our money." But he didn't take kindly to that suggestion, and so the flowers were paid for—they went to a funeral that very fortunately never really had to occur, and Joe McDonald as of this day is alive and well and makin' money. So that's a little interesting sidelight that comes out of

my attorney general days. It was his brother that I appointed deputy attorney general, a young man who has done extremely well in the practicing of law.

I'd never seen Bob McDonald in my life and didn't know him from a bale of hay; but he'd finished his military career, had his law degree back of him, passed the state bar, and came one day to report to work. I was rather amazed by his youth, but I had made the commitment and was delighted to put him on, and he's been—he and I have been partners ever since in a partnership career that never had more than a shake of a hand. I maintained my partnership with him during my early years in the Congress of the United States. In later years I abandoned it simply because I couldn't devote any time to it, and found early in my senatorial career that I could never devote any real time to it. And of course from a idealistic standpoint, it's far better not to have that type of a relationship as a practicing lawyer or as a lawyer with an interest in a partnership of any kind simply because it's impossible to conduct federal business today without some legal involvement and you can—you always run the risk of encountering conflicts of interest; it's almost inevitable, and the only reason I did it is I had to have the supplementary money because I was raising one daughter and three sons; and money at the time that I was in the U.S. Senate, I think was in the ten or twelve thousand-dollar range, and it just simply wasn't enough to provide me the money I needed to properly educate them or educate them as my wife and I felt they should be educated. So that was my rationale in the staying on, and I was criticized for it over my political career.

I had represented mining companies, and then I was on the mining committee of the U.S. Senate, and some of the critics of the day, Drew Pearson and there's one other fellow by

the name of [Jack] Anderson never hesitated to point out that I had a hopeless conflict because I represented this wining company and that mining company and while I was a U.S. senator, and therefore I could not be objective and completely fair. And the ideal situation, of course, is to be a person of tremendous wealth, why you don't have to do anything else except become a senator or a congressman. And the work was then and has become increasingly hard—difficult, so that about all you can do today, no matter whether you're rich or poor, if you're going to do a creditable job as a U.S. senator or as a congressman, is devote your full time to that responsibility. There's plenty to keep you busy, and more than you can possibly handle as an individual in just attending to your political commitments.

So, that was a partnership that remained for many years—many years, particularly the earlier years until my children were educated. And then in later years, after I retired some four years ago, they asked me to come back as a consultant, and I'm still shown as a consultant of my old law firm, one that I really started with Bob McDonald and has grown into a much larger firm. And my oldest son, who is a lawyer, is now active in it; I'm shown as a consultant, and the only consulting I have done is to go in and pick up my mail and then get out of there as quickly as I could before they ask me something! So I've continued in that particular role right to this day, and I shall, I suppose, as long as they are kind enough to show me as a consultant on the stationery. I do not share in any of the proceeds of the law office and have no intentions of doing so. But if it's helpful to them, I'm glad to lend my name to that particular purpose at that particular law firm.

I think it might be well to just sketch out some of the responsibilities and decisions and cases that were handled during my eight years

as attorney general, and I note in doing my "homework" and briefly in my research, that I became a deputy on March 1, 1938, and then I became the full attorney general in nineteen hundred and forty-two. Now the first time that I became attorney general, we directed our reports to Governor Carville, who was the then governor of the state. I note in that particular time as well as in earlier and later time, I constantly made a recommendation to be relieved from administrative boards and commissions. The constitution and/or the statutes of the state of Nevada have, over the history of our state, placed the attorney general on a number of committees. Some were constitutional boards and some are statutory boards. Statutory boards, of course, could be very easily changed. The constitutional boards are much more difficult.

But the attorney general was, during my period of time, a member of the Board of Examiners, and he was a member of the Board of Pardons and Paroles. And it was the membership on the Board of Pardons and Paroles, I think, that disturbed me as much as any one membership because here as attorney general you were the chief law enforcing officer of the state and you handled an appeal to the Supreme Court, you are by statute required to represent the various district attorneys in the state and argue before the supreme court of the state. And you were also invested with the authority and required by the constitution to be on the Pardons and Parole Board. And it did seem to me that that would put you in a rather conflict of interest role, because here on one hand you were prosecuting or defending or upholding the hand of the prosecutor and then on the other hand, you were asked to pardon or parole the convict. That has been changed with independent boards, and I think that has been a completely satisfactory way of resolving very, very difficult conflicts.

You also were a member of the Board of Prison Commissioners, and that was the board together with the governor, and I believe the treasurer or the controller was the third member, one of the two, or maybe it was the secretary of state was the third member of the board. And you were charged with the responsibility of providing the prisons and seeing that the care—and it was management of the prison. There the attorney general might have had more of a role, and I don't see too bad a conflict there. But they do have many, many problems.

You were also made, during my period of time, a member of the Industrial Commission, and you were made a member of the Public Service Commission. You were made a member of the Highway board, and you were made a member of the Trust Fund Board. Now I think since you have to make opinions based on the law and deciding the law on problems that arise in each of those areas, that it's far better—you're far better off to be completely independent of it and serve as a lawyer, rather than as an administrator as well as a lawyer. And over the years many—many changes have been made there, and I think all to the improvements of the statutes of our state. But memberships are very, very interesting; some of the decisions we had are very interesting.

We had a tremendously difficult problem and almost a hopeless problem in trying to read the school laws of the state. They were jumbled up over the years, and they were added just willy-nilly and from session to session. They'd put on another section of the law and then try to interpret it. So, we made the plea before the legislature to give us money to recodify the laws. And the legislature granted us the necessary money, and I hired Gray Mashburn, who was the former attorney general, with the theory in

mind that he had great background having been attorney general himself, I think for eight years; and then I also put on that board young Dick Waters, who was a young lawyer, later [to] become the district attorney of Ormsby County in Carson City and later to become the district judge there and a position he held until his death. So, we were successful, and the school laws were recodified and I think corrected many, many of the errors that had been in the earlier laws. It's the present basis of the school laws of this state, and of course even under that there were requests for opinions on sections that even though recodified, weren't completely clear. I think that's true of any effort to try to crystalize laws so that they're easily understandable; you've taken as many conflicts out of them as you could. But that was one contribution that I thought was very much worthwhile.

Gambling was coming to the fore in Nevada and becoming more and more a national attraction and very obviously it did attract some undesirable characters into gambling and it became very apparent by some of our earlier legislators that they had to very strictly control it or that it would get out of hand. And they had to be very, very careful on that. And as my memory serves me, some of the leaders in gambling, I think Phil Tobin is correctly credited with being the father of bringing in modern day gambling back in legally; but beyond that, at that time subject to local option. In other words, the county commissioners would practically govern who got the license and who didn't get the license. It became apparent to a great number of people that there had to be a strengthening of our gambling laws or had to be more—or had to be stricter control or they could very well get completely out of hand. I'm sure that Bob Cahill, in relating his oral history to you, has built in a great deal of that. I know he pointed

out the problems we had with the zoo games, for example, and finally we managed to get them cleaned out of the state, I hope. I really believe they have. But gambling got bigger and bigger and it became obvious that you had to have tighter control on it.

And as I remember it, the two men that came to me during the time that I was attorney general and said, "Now we want your assistance in legally helping us put the state more and more into the gaming control business"—the two men were Walter Cox, who is a state senator from Lyon County, Yerington, and Ken Johnson, who was an active gambler in Carson City. They could foresee many problems in the connection of that. They enlisted the aid of Bill Dressler who was a strong state senator from Douglas County to help them, and they came into my office, I can almost see them now, coming in one time in Carson City during the time I was a full attorney general and said, "Now we want you to design some type of a law that'll put the state more and more into the gambling business."

I said, "Well, who do you want to entrust it to? Who do you want to put in charge?"

"Well, use your own judgment."

And we finally made the Nevada Tax Commission the governing agency. Now they were never set up originally to have anything in the world to do with gambling, but that was the first effort that was made, and out of that first effort with amendments over the years, we gave more and more power to the gaming—and built in the Gaming Control Board. And as time went on, various perfecting amendments were passed. As we had experiences in going to the courts and getting court approved decisions, we established many guidelines that were built into the law, indicating that gambling was not a right, it was a privilege; and that was really the foundation of their strength because they

could rule it pretty much with an iron hand, which they had to do. And the courts have sustained that since then. It's been tested many times, and one could build into the report what the court said last about it. As a matter of fact, I could build in my opinion which held that many, many years ago about it being a privilege; in fact it was quoted in some recent newspaper article that appeared in local press. I saw it—I made note of it at the time thinking I might build it in there because it did comment on it—that that was the place where Nevada gaming kind of turned around and became a privilege, became strictly controlled, and because it was getting out of hand. So, that would be a part of the gaming board.

In examining the opinions over the years, I find that there were many gaming opinions. I noticed a recent reference in one of the local papers to an opinion that was written by me putting the state of Nevada into the gambling business. It was formerly handled completely by the county, and it seemed, apparently, to the governing authorities of the various counties—I think it arose in Clark County—the vulnerability that you had in allowing a county to completely judge the fitness of the applicants for gaming licenses—.

A comment was made just very recently in an article that was written by William R. Eadington and James F. Hattori, and they said the legislature looks at gambling, and this was an article which they were commissioned to write so as to point out the history of gambling in the state—now—and how the state got into it.\* I'm using their language, and it's very short and I think I should probably read it.

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\*Eadington and Hattori, "Gambling in Nevada: Legislative History and Economic Trends" (UNR Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1977).

It said:

In order to clarify the issues of county versus state licenses and the Nevada Tax Commission's denial of licenses, the Nevada Tax Commission asked Attorney General Alan Bible questions in these areas. First, the Tax Commission asked whether they could stipulate that a county could issue a gaming license only after a licensee had first obtained a state license. Attorney General Bible stated he thought such a requirement was lawful. This prerequisite would prevent casino owners from operating only with a county license and would insure that all licensees would have to appear before the Nevada Tax Commission.\*

I might bring—just make a comment at that point, and that is that much of this came about because of—many abuses of the county gaming statutes as they existed, and it appeared that unless you could keep gaming under strict control and with very tight licensing provisions, that it could get out of hand and bring very, very undesirable characters into the state. I think, if I might observe, at least I believe, that over the years that the gaming has been run on a high level and with strict conformity and that you've kept adverse characters out of the state in a very admirable style, and I don't think it *could* have been done unless you had put the state in with very strict licensing and regulatory powers.

The next paragraph in this article written historically said:

Secondly, the Tax Commission inquired if they could deny a license if in their opinion granting

the application was not in the public interest. Bible stated the Tax Commission could deny a license on grounds of harm to the public interest. Thus, 1949 marked the first attempt of the state of Nevada to provide for strict state control of gaming.\*

And the article, which I think is a very well written article, goes on to point out some of the problems in keeping or attempting to keep gaming clean in this state. And by and large, I think they have been very successful in doing that. And I've taken pride—I take pride in the decision that I made then, and if I'm correct I believe it's been attacked a number of times, but it's always been sustained by the courts. And I don't think there's any doubt but what the decision was sound and will remain sound. And I think that's going to do everything possible legally to insure the cleanliness of those in the gaming world because it is—it is a privilege, it's been sustained as a privilege and should be dealt with very, very vigorously and very rigidly and very strictly. And I think that has been the end result of this gaming opinion.

There were all—there were many, many offshoots of that particular opinion, and it cropped up in a good many areas. One was the attempt over a period of years to—sometime to clean up, and that was the appearance of the so-called "zoos" in the state. We had a zoo operation which was nothing more nor less than a bunco game. One of them was operated out of Palisade, and it led to Eureka County investigations and the Eureka County grand jury, finally a trial in the—and the imposition

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\*Eadington and Hattori, "Gambling in Nevada: Legislative History and Economic Trends" (UNR Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1977).

of a penalty on the sheriff there who was directly involved.

Poor old Sheriff Fine, I think, got convinced by a jury trial. I think he did a little time in our state institution over in Carson City called the state penitentiary. He was a kindly old sheriff, you'd never suspect him in a million years, but he was in on the fix. And Bob Cahill was the first one that analyzed it; he says, "You've got to open your eyes and take a look at that sheriff there 'cause the sheriff is knockin' off," and he says, "So is Les Moody." And I guess they were.

*That period is so important, especially your opinions on the privilege aspect.*

We launched them in the right direction, I'm sure. It's been repeatedly sustained. God knows, if they had left the counties just be the—have the final word on whether you got a gambling license or whether you didn't, there'd been more hanky-panky than you can shake a stick at. It's a tough industry, face it; you know that. And, there's so many opportunities to do wrong in that area; it kind of puzzles you.

Over the period of the years, we had many, many opinions on fish and game problems because it seems like they're always involved in a controversy either with the federal government as to who has the control over the fish and the game or with sportsmen who want to take more advantage of the law than the law permitted.

Many, many requests came from our election officials each and every time we had an election because that always poses doubts as to the legality of the election and how it's being conducted. And of course as I indicated a few moments ago, there—the need for school law recodification was apparent because of the many, many decisions that

were requested by the school officials of the state.

Another case of course of the first order and of, again, of tremendous importance was the case of *Arizona vs. California*. I believe that Hugh Shamberger has testified in some depth on that particular case. He was in it in his capacity as the deputy state engineer and then as a full state engineer for the state of Nevada. This again involved the question as to the division of the waters of the Colorado River. It had been hoped that it would have been settled by the Santa Fe Compact which was entered into many years earlier, but it was constantly kept in turmoil and uncertainty. And it wasn't until the final decision of the *Arizona vs. California* suit filed in the U.S. Supreme Court that the matter was determined, and not too soon in any event because civilizations were starting to be built around it and use of that water, and one had to know as to whether—how firm their entitlement was. And so the final supreme court decision (after the petitions for rehearing and the various appeals had been made to upset the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court) was *finalized*; and I firmly believe that it has set the final law of the case, so that the state of Arizona knows exactly what it'll receive, the state of Nevada knows exactly what it'll receive, state of California and its entities know what it will receive, because the state of California did move quickly, as later turned out rather effectively, to state their claim to the waters of the Colorado. And the end result, though certainly not pleasing to all the parties, at least settled something that had been uncertain for so many, many years. And that was probably one of the most important, if not the most important, case that came up during my tenure as deputy attorney general and as an attorney general of the state.

I was projected rather forcefully into the *Arizona vs. California* suit. Gray Mashburn had been handling it personally, and I think again doing a great job when he was very badly injured in an automobile accident and was unable to attend to that case. And it fell upon me to carry on in his place. I think Bill Mathews was overworked in other areas and simply couldn't take that load. So I was projected in my final year as deputy attorney general into the *Arizona vs. California* lawsuit and devoted the major part of my time for the next several years to that. We had the help of some special deputies, and we needed them when we went against the batteries of lawyers and engineers and experts that were mustered by California, which were overwhelming you with the number of lawyers they had, and to a lesser degree the state of Arizona, who also had many, many lawyers. The Upper Basin states, the states of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico and Wyoming were also involved in the suit in a secondary degree, but they likewise furnished many lawyers and experts in engineering personnel. So at one time it must have been one of the biggest lawsuits that had ever been filed in front of the U.S. Supreme Court in the number of participants of record as lawyers representing all the various entities involved.

It would be a matter of many days discussion to review all of the phases of these cases, but the record would speak for itself. It is a voluminous one and is one that is a landmark case in water law. But that was probably the number one case that came before us.

There was the case of the division of the money that came to us from the federal government. There was the question of the relative jurisdiction of the federal government and the state government in the matters of federal monies that came to the state of

Nevada. In that, the federal government imposed itself more and more on the state and went in to help the state in various problems, the more problems that arose as to where the jurisdiction of each entity, the federal government and the sovereign state of Nevada, was involved. This had been a constant source of litigation over the years. There's examples in the mining law. There's examples in the Bureau of Land Management, which came out as the outgrowth of the Taylor Grazing Act; and the division of monies insofar as the highway system is concerned; and a myriad of federal-state relationships which led to many conferences, and attempts to work a compromise that was agreeable to those involved.

And in many, many instances, as I indicated earlier, ended up in lawsuits involving the two sovereignties, the sovereign federal government and the sovereign state. And one can see as you look back, the encroachment more and more of the federal government on the state sovereignty, and one that has really carried the federal government, I believe too far into state affairs. It came about in the payments of monies to the various entities to assist them with their government and their roles in taking care of the people within the state. And this revenue act was one that I did not favor because I thought from experience and based upon history that once the federal government put dollars into a project, whatever that project was, they wanted to retain some control and that became larger and larger control, and again led to many misunderstandings between the federal and the state government. And I think it's still true in the revenue act and the aid to the states and the district, if they simply give you a flat share of money based upon whatever type of a formula was finally worked out and then remove the strings, then that

would be one matter. But it never works out that way in practice; even though they claim we're not going to attempt to tell you what to do, they always end up not only attempting to tell you what to do, but doing that. And if you don't do it their way, then no money. They'll hold back the funds.

This is an interesting pattern of study over all our federal-state relationships and is particularly noticeable in the many clashes that there's been between the southern states and the federal government in civil rights matters and using through the power of the dollar the very strong sanction of closing schools and withholding funds and things of that kind. It's very clear in the busing cases which are still in a state of flux throughout the United States, notwithstanding some clarifying opinions from the highest court. So these are problems with which we had some very early warning of things to come from the federal government and matters which I encountered when I went into a different role on a legislative level as a U.S. senator from Nevada. But I should have been—I don't know that I was—forewarned of the pitfalls that came about in the acceptance of money. But money has such a strong inducement to do things that sometimes the states as individuals will succumb to the lure of the almighty dollar. And I think that has been true in many, many instances. And we encountered it in its early stages back in nineteen hundred and thirty-eight, which was only a short period of time after the New Deal that was brought on by FDR.

During that period of time, one of my most important opinions and one that caused me as much political problem as any, was an osteopathic opinion where I wrote an opinion at the request of Dr. [Harry W.] Sawyer. Dr. Sawyer was a very ardent Democrat politically; he was an osteopathic doctor himself from

Idaho, and he later became a licensed M.D. And Fallon, which was my home town, had many osteopaths; it was the seat of a lot of osteopathic activity as to what an osteopath could do and what an osteopath could not do. I wrote the opinion myself. It was based on a Kansas case of *State vs. Gleason*, which held that they—there're so many things they couldn't do; they couldn't substitute their skills for that of a physician and surgeon. Over the years by passing various laws of qualification in the medical laws of the state of Nevada, that has been pretty well corrected. But at that time, it was a red-hot issue.

Dr. Sawyer was an interesting individual. He was a scrapper and a fighter. He was a skilled politician, and he was the father of Grant Sawyer, the very fine governor of the state of Nevada, a young man who is still practicing law in southern Nevada and doing extremely well.

There were, during all of that period of time, many—many highway condemnation suits because the highways of our state were growing. I recall one where we bypassed Verdi; and certainly from a political standpoint, this is not a happy suit to be associated with. If I recall correctly, since we did bypass Verdi, right in the general area of where the present highway runs, I think the next time I ran, I lost every vote in Verdi, because I was the attorney general and as such, had to handle the highway condemnation suit, and needless to say, people, when their communities are bypassed, take a very dim view of it. And it's one of the hard rock cases that you have in a state such as Nevada. The highways pretty much bypass and they will bypass Lovelock and Winnemucca, Elko in the future, and it does cause some change of location and change of activity for various people who have built up their livelihoods along the highway. And it's always been—they've

always been hard cases to handle, and today I don't believe there will be too much more disruption. One of the classic ones was the driving of the highway through Reno, where there was a bitter fight and many years of controversy before the present highway line was finally settled. Disruption vanishes after the years, but during the period where it is being tried and during the period where it's being formulated as to its exact location, it's a very difficult problem, and it was a red-hot political issue in Washoe County and in Reno for a good many years. To the best of my knowledge, it's almost entirely settled at the present time, and probably a few little remaining problems that haven't been absolutely settled, but for practical purposes, the highway is built, it is being used, and those earlier bruises that one encounters in lawsuits are just about over with.

There were many criminal fields during the period of time. One of the most famous was the Fitzgerald-Sullivan case. Lincoln Fitzgerald is still alive; he is the owner of Fitzgerald's in downtown Reno. They were being sought by Michigan, the state of Michigan because they had violated the gambling laws of that state. The district attorney of White Pine County, where they filed their *habeas corpus* petitions, disqualified himself because he had earlier done work for either Fitzgerald or Sullivan, possibly both of them. So it fell to me to go to Ely on many, many times in order to attempt to get their extradition to Michigan for trial in that particular jurisdiction. And after many, many long distance trips to Ely and to White Pine County in front of the judiciary there, they finally worked out a settlement where Fitzgerald and Sullivan took a lesser plea and finally satisfied the state of Michigan.

The state of Michigan, interestingly enough at that time, had what they called a

one-man grand jury, and this gave an undue amount of power to one man. That man was Homer Ferguson, and he was a trial judge and he was also the grand jury, and he is the one that was responsible for pretty much wiping out gambling in the Detroit area, where both Fitzgerald and Sullivan had previously operated. And it's interesting to note that he later ran on his antigambling stance and his anti-gambling record, he was elected as a U.S. senator from Michigan, he served there for two terms, and then he was defeated in Michigan, and he was appointed by President Nixon, I believe, on the Court of Military Appeals. And the last time that I was in Washington, I had occasion to see him and of course he's a man with whom Nevada was very intimately acquainted because of the position he took on the Fitzgerald and Sullivan extradition.

But we had a number of extradition cases and the attorney general usually had some part in them, because he assisted the district attorneys, and the district attorneys uniformly called upon the attorney general for assistance in extradition cases. They were always rather difficult, not from a legal standpoint, but from an emotional standpoint and from just a human interest standpoint because of the individuals involved. And they still have many extraditions from the state, and the governors almost unanimously permit extradition—occasionally and undoubtedly for good cause refuse to extradite.

Now my final tour of duty as attorney general during my second term, took me from '50 to '52, and I note that in that period of time my opinions were numbered 933 through 972. So during my tenure as attorney general, I was responsible for and wrote many of—approximately a thousand official written opinions, and that doesn't count the ones, of course, that were unofficial or that

you just gave orally. It's always a good rule in life, I think, in dealing with lawyers (and I am a lawyer), to have them put it in writing because then they can't go back on it and say, "Well, that isn't what I meant." But if you have it in writing, it's pretty hard to contradict the writing. And any well-informed, well-advised agency always asks for an attorney general's opinion because then that saves them from making the mistake; it's the attorney general, then, that is the fall guy for opinions that are unpopular, and this is true in many, many instances.

Most of my opinions were I hope sustainable by the court. They ran the entire gamut of relationships that we have in our state day in and day out, and they don't vary too much from one decade to another. I try to hold my own personal opinions to be about as brief as possible. I've always felt that long, involved opinions were not the best, though in some instances they had to necessarily be somewhat long. But one that came right to the point and gave a few cogent reasons for writing as you did and suggesting a course of action was of course always preferred by the state officers whom we served.

The state officers of course being human (I'm sure I would have done the same thing if I'd have been in a different capacity) were always prone when they had what we call a "hot potato" come across the plate to say, "Well, we'd better pass that hot potato on to our good friend the attorney general." So they ended up, so many problems during that period of time, and I'm sure it's equally true today, end up in the lap of the attorney general to tell 'em what to do and "the buck stops there" as that sign so well expresses. (I think it was a statement that I think has been attributed to Harry Truman over the years, "The Buck Stops Here." And it's a good point to remember.) But the buck stopped at

the attorney general's office in many, many instances and depending upon the nature of the opinion, whether our popularity somewhat went up and down because even though we felt we had good, sound legal basis; people always figure you can decide the case their way rather than the other way. And so we were in the middle of many a spirited controversy during a total of thirteen years. Of course, that's what the attorney general's for; it was a part of our everyday work. But it seemed to me that many state officers could have made many decisions themselves and saved us the burden as well as the agony of ruling on contentious problems.

*Is that true of district attorneys too?*

Oh yes, and of course we were the legal advisors for district attorneys, and the district attorney again following a very normal, honest trait of nature said, "Well, we should ask the attorney general about this local question that we have because it might serve as a precedent for district attorneys in other countries who have the same kind of a problem." So we became involved not only in the statewide problems involving the state officers, but we became involved in many of the problems of the seventeen district attorneys of the state.

And of course I think it's true in government that on the local level you're constantly feeling the pressure of public opinion more than you are on a larger level because it's further distant. In other words, in a small county you pass your district attorney practically everyday of the week and you can get to him very easily because you live in the same smaller community. And this is true of everywheres in Nevada with the possible exception of Reno and Las Vegas which have become population centers, but even there it's fairly easy to reach the district attorney on

some question that you might have of the local concern. But, and not only that, in cases where the district attorney felt disqualified—in the small counties particularly—because of some conflict that he had, then he could call on the attorney general to come in and handle the case for him. So we did, in our capacity in the attorney general's office, many times were summoned in to help on really what were local problems and appeared before grand juries and juries in that particular capacity.

One case of some interest for several years was the so-called "zoo" case, which came about in Eureka where it was obviously a fraudulent operation and was the old shell game, really, and many tourists coming into our state would stop by and be robbed in a gentle sense of the money they might have in betting with the very smart con men who had set up the operation, and then they lured the passengers to a stop because of a zoo and an animal, and then there'd always be a card game or a shell game come up which would entice the unknowledgeable in trying to make a few dollars at the expense of the zoo. And it just never turned out that the zoo ever lost. And we had many complaints on it and a long time was spent in investigating and finally we were successful in closing them down and dealing with the owners and the operators of the zoos and meting out the proper punishment. But it was a long, involved process, far too long really, but it was stamped out. I don't think it's ever recurred in Nevada and probably because there's plenty of open gambling around everywheres you look, so that if you do want to gamble then you can do it. But this was headquartered for a long time in the small county of Eureka. And the county seat of Eureka was quite a ways away from the main highway through the state. Emigrant Gap, the name comes back, where many tourists went on the main highway through Nevada.

But, that was another problem that comes back to mind that ended up in the attorney general's office. I hope that it was ultimately and correctly and properly disposed of.

*There seemed to be an awful lot of these rather simple kinds of opinion going out to the district attorneys.*

Well, I think that's correct. I think it's mainly because they hit the masses on the local level, and with very rare exception the district attorneys are very cooperative. And I think many of them honestly did feel that other district attorneys might have the same question, the same problem and that in the sake of uniformity they would rather have an overall attorney general's opinion that would apply to all district attorneys, rather than having one district attorney ruling one way and another district attorney ruling another way. I believe we were helpful in keeping many court cases at a minimum by those opinions. I think we were helpful and I haven't attempted to tabulate how many cases we were sustained and how many cases we were overruled. I believe that our batting average was very good.

#### **JUDGES AND DISTRICT ATTORNEYS**

During that period of time, I worked with a great number of trial judges or district judges throughout the state, and I—in order to refresh my memory, I went back through my own files and find that in District Number One, during practically all of the time that I was attorney general, Clark J. Guild was the judge in District Number One and that embraced among other areas, the Ormsby County or Carson City. At that time there were only two judges in Washoe County. One was a very famous Irishman, Barney Moran, and the

other was Ben Curler. They were the two trial judges and the district judges here in Washoe County. And as the population has grown, of course there's been an increased need for judicial power and there are, of course, many more judges than those two at this present time, the two that were authorized.

The judge in Eureka during that period of time in Eureka County was Edgar Eather. Elko, as I previously mentioned, the trial judge was E. P. Carville. He resigned July 1, 1934, to become the U.S. Attorney for the state of Nevada; and he secured great publicity as the U.S. Attorney because he was the trial lawyer in the case involving Bill Graham and Jim McKay. And they were gamblers, and they were being indicted; in fact, they were tried in New York courts, and they were convicted there. But due to that role that Judge Carville played in the trial of McKay and Graham, he was thought as being a very logical candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor of the state of Nevada and based partly on fame and the notoriety which he received as the prosecutor in that case. He was elected as governor of the state of Nevada, later went on to become a U.S. senator—in later years after his tour of duty as governor of the state.

The judge in Tonopah was J. Emmet Walsh, and the judge in Winnemucca was L.O. Hawkins of the very famous Hawkins family, a group of young men who were out of Colorado and who were very skilled lawyers. The judge over in Ely at White Pine County at that time was H. W Edwards, Judge Edwards, and he served there as judge for a number of years. When he retired, he came and practiced law in Reno. And he had one daughter, Virginia Edwards, who in turn married Don Richards, who is a present active, practicing lawyer in Reno.

The judge in Lincoln and Clark County, which interestingly enough at that period of

time (this'd be in the 1931-34 period of time) was Judge William Orr. The interesting thing is that Clark County was so small back in that period of time that it only took one judge to handle all the cases out of Lincoln County as well as out of Clark County. Judge Orr was the—later became the Nevada member on the Circuit Court of Appeals—the Ninth Circuit, and a very able lawyer and the predecessor of the same position that was held by Charlie Merrill of this state, and just within the last few months, Procter Hug, Jr., who is now—holds that same position, really what we would call the Nevada position on the Circuit Court of Appeals, which covers California and Nevada and a part of Arizona or possibly all of Arizona. And it's a high honor to those men who have gone on into those higher positions.

In 1938, looking at the district judges (and the attorney worked very closely with them—they were—the attorney generals were, to a degree, one of the advisors for district judges. I don't think they were made that by statute, but they had close association with them because they appeared in front of them many times), Judge Moran died in nineteen hundred and thirty-eight, and Judge [A. J.] Maestretti, who was from Austin, Nevada, was appointed in his place and held that position for many, many years.

In the Winnemucca area, Tom Salter later became a judge. And later on after that, Merwyn Brown succeeded him. George Annand, whom I have mentioned as one of my deputies was appointed as district judge in the Ely, White Pine area. And Roger Foley was appointed—Roger Foley, Sr. —was appointed as a trial judge in Las Vegas on the elevation of Judge Orr to the Circuit Court and later became a federal judge in the state of Nevada. George Marshall was elected as one of the early-day judges, during my period of time as attorney general, to the trial court in

Clark County, and in effect, was the successor to Roger Foley, and Roger Foley in turn was the successor to Judge Bill Orr. Judge Eather, whom I mentioned as being a judge in Eureka, was appointed in about 1945 or '46 to the Nevada Supreme Court and served in that capacity for a number of years.

It might be helpful to take a quick look at the district attorneys of the various counties. The attorney general—if anyone did have supervision over the district attorneys, it would be the attorney general. And I know during my period of time we always had a close relationship. The attorney general's office was compelled by statute to furnish opinions to the district attorney when requested. And of course that was a godsend to district attorneys because in cases that were difficult or had lots of local controversy, they were always happy to pass a "hot potato," as you might colloquialize it. And so we received many requests, most of them were never very easy requests, and if there were obvious answers that had political implications on it, many of the district attorneys were not beyond passing it on to the attorney general in order to save themselves the embarrassment or the criticism and the difficulty that came about in making a difficult decision. But, the [district attorneys] of the state, I think I should build into the record the names of the [district attorneys] that were—with whom I worked during my years as attorney general.

The district attorney in Clark County was Robert Jones, very able man, a man who served there for many years. John [F.] Sexton of Eureka, who later became the district judge. Peter Breen of Goldfield who was district attorney, later became a district judge and whose son today serves as a district judge in Washoe County. Duffy Priest in Austin, Judge Priest came from Austin after serving as judge there into Reno and is still active in a

practice in Reno. Harold Taber still practicing in Reno, Nevada, was a district judge in Reno. Leo Puccinelli was the district judge in Elko, Nevada; he's since passed on. Bill Crowell was the district judge in Tonopah, is still alive in the practice in Carson City and has two sons associated with him also active in the practice. Leonard Blasdell was the district attorney in Mineral County, and I believe is still practicing there.

Judge McFadden was the district attorney in White Pine County, and he has passed on. Jim Johnson was the district attorney in Churchill County—Fallon, and later became the U.S. Attorney for the state of Nevada and is presently active in the practice of law in Reno. And Joe Martin was the district attorney in Pioche, and frankly I don't know whether he is still alive or not. He was the district attorney in Pioche for quite a number of years. Johnson Lloyd was the district attorney in Eureka. Jim Callahan was a long-time district attorney in Winnemucca and today is succeeded by Bill McDonald, who is the present district attorney in Winnemucca.

Howard Browne was the long-time district attorney in Austin; he is now presently practicing in Reno, Nevada. Doc Belanger was the district attorney in Lovelock, Nevada, Pershing County. Wayne Jepson was a long-time district attorney in Yerington; he has at least one son who is active in the practice of law in Reno. Gray Gubler was also a district attorney succeeding Bob Jones in Clark County during my tenure. Grover Krick was the long-time district attorney in Douglas County; he has since passed on. E. E. Winters was the—one of the early district attorneys in Fallon and Churchill County, Nevada, and he's passed on. Sanford Bunce was a later district attorney in Lovelock, Pershing County, Nevada, and I believe that he has passed on. C. A. Eddy was one of the district attorneys

in Ely, Nevada and has since that period of time been—he has also passed on in Ely. I've built this into the record thinking it might be helpful as some type of an overall digest for the district attorneys in the state.

We met occasionally; there was no—and I believe today that that's been implemented and that they have annual meetings and conventions and select their own heads of the district attorneys of the state. It is something that should have been done a long time ago, and I am happy to see that it is active now because there's a lot of relationships between the various district attorneys and the attorney generals; and as one part of a larger family of the enforcers of the law, I think they can do a lot of good—they can share problems and in sharing those problems they can likewise come up with suggestions as to how they can meet some of the problems of the day. And that is rather a quick summary and an inadequate summary of my days as attorney general and some of the reminiscences and events that come to mind.

*How about telling me a little bit about some of these people? For example, were the judges good judges, industrious judges, lazy judges, poor judges? When you mentioned McFadden, for example, I remembered that they had tried to impeach him in the legislature.*

Well, he liked to take a little nip of the wine, but I think the judges of the state were on the whole were very industrious and hardworking. I think there were exceptions among judges just like there are exceptions among men; you have the good and bad, the hardworking, the ones that don't work so hard, and ones that speak out and are outspoken, and ones that are students of the law and very quiet. I think you had a blend of all judges; I would honestly feel, as I look

at the entire picture of judges with whom I worked, is that they were as learned in the law and they were as able and fair as judges as you would find in any other state. You'll find those judges who are outstanding, and you'll find the judges who are mediocre, and you'll find judges who are poor; usually if a judge is very poor, the voters themselves weed them out just as soon as an election comes along. I would think that would be my analysis of the judges of the state. I wouldn't pinpoint 'em—say Mr. X is good, bad, or indifferent because my opinions may be prejudiced, maybe weigh in one way or the other, but on balance I think they all were hardworking who try—and doin' their dead level best to try to dispense justice fairly and impartially.

*And that same question would be about the district attorneys.*

Well, and they'd all fit in about that same category. Some of them went forward into other positions. Running down the district attorneys, you'll see that John Sexton became a judge, a controversial judge over in Eureka. Peter Breen became a judge in the Goldfield area; and Duffy Priest, as district attorney, became a judge there. Harold Taber was a judge here. Leo Puccinelli died real young—I think he died when he was district attorney. Bill Crowell did not go forward to be a judge, but he did go into private practice. He represented the Industrial Commission for a number of years and has still a very fine practice in Tonopah and still practices there. Leonard Blasdell was district attorney; he was repeatedly one of the best bridge players in Nevada. And Judge McFadden was what you said he was.

Jim Johnson went ahead as I indicated to be a U.S. Attorney. Joe Martin, I've lost track of, and I really can't give you a reading

on him. Johnson Lloyd is back in Eureka, Nevada, still over there as district attorney, if I'm correctly advised. Jim Callahan went into private practice, still in private practice. Doc Belanger spent a career as district attorney in Lovelock, and he either is still the district attorney or just recently retired. Howard Browne in Austin was district attorney for many years, then came in to private practice here in Reno, and I think is still in private practice in Reno. Martin Evanson—I missed his name in the first round—is a district attorney in Hawthorne, Nevada, and he died oh, many years ago at a very young age, so his—the district attorney's position is as far as he went. Wayne Jepson was district attorney for many years in Yerington, is now retired. Gray Gubler of Clark County, Las Vegas, who was district attorney for a period of time and then went into private practice. Grover Krick was, as near as I can remember, was always the district attorney in Douglas County; he was unbeatable; he was very satisfied just to be the district attorney in that county. And of course during the great period of his tenure, it wasn't a real active job because Douglas County was just a very healthy, conservative cattle area with grazing and that sort of thing; since then Lake Tahoe has come into the fore and has presented a lot of problems, but Grover Krick didn't have most of those.

E. E. Winters was a kindly old gentleman who was perfectly happy to be district attorney in Fallon—just forever and ever and ever. People just automatically selected him, and in both the cases of Douglas County and Churchill County back in the earlier days, they paid their district attorneys very poorly. It wouldn't attract anybody who had real ambitions to be a successful lawyer because he could barely live on it; it was kind of a—just starvation wage. Over the years they've gradually built the salaries up in some of these

smaller counties. Of course, I admit that they didn't have too much to do, but there wasn't too much legal business there in any event. But, as they've grown and they've increased their salaries, and of course, as inflation has come along they had to increase the salaries so they could at least buy bread and butter. So that's about the way those worked.

And Sanford Bunce was district attorney in Lovelock for many years, seemed to be completely satisfied to be a district attorney. C. A. Eddy was the district attorney in Ely for a number of years. His wife, who was Helen Eddy, and his wife was one of Harvey Sewell's real stalwart helpers in the Nevada Bank of Commerce. And as a matter of fact she's still very much alive and works part time at the Valley Bank—very, very wonderful woman. Now that kind of winds up your [district attorneys], I think.

#### **SOME IMPRESSIONS OF STATE OFFICIALS**

*Would you like to do some more character sketches of some of the state officers that you had particular contact with?*

Well, I think one of the most complicated fields of government is in the field of education, and I was privileged to work with a very wonderful woman by the name of Mildred Bray. Her people were pioneers in the state. She was a pioneer herself, and then she became the superintendent of education. She leaned very heavily on the attorney general's office for guidance, and often we felt I guess that she could have just taken the bull by the horns in many of those cases and made the decision herself. She was very careful, and she wanted to be sure that she was legally right in the requests that she made. The requests were always completely legitimate, but there were many of them, probably as many as we got

from any other department in the entire state government. But I think that's understandable because education takes such a large share of our public dollar and involves so many people and so many districts that there're bound to be recurring questions. There was always the recurring question of nepotism in the appointment of school boards where there is under the law a prohibition against nepotism and a school board member hiring someone within a certain degree of affinity or consanguinity. And that occurred in many counties, particularly in our southern counties, particularly in Lincoln County. Lincoln County had many questions of that kind.

And likewise there was the question of using school property for church purposes. In many instances in Nevada in the smaller counties again, there were—it was really the only public building that was available, and now the question was: could that be used for church services under the doctrine of separation of church and state? And of course the law is pretty well—pretty carefully spelled out there, but there were always questions asked in that direction. Again in the smaller counties rather than the larger counties. And we meant the use of the school gymnasium where many church groups had athletic programs of their own. How much could you use the school gymnasium for that particular purpose? And much of our time was devoted in these school areas.

These all fell primarily under Miss Bray during my period of time, as the superintendent of public instruction. But she had an excellent group of deputy superintendents with her, and I think did an overall excellent job in advancing solutions to the educational needs and requirements of the state. I think she did an excellent job in that respect.

When I first went into the attorney general's office, W. G. Greathouse was just retiring as secretary of the state, and he was to be followed by Malcolm McEachin. And of course that was an office that had many, many legal questions because of its close contact with the lawyers of the state and the filings of their corporation papers and the various duties that are imposed on the secretary of state. The treasurer of the state, the controller, likewise had certain questions about the placing of money in banks, and we had had a very unfortunate political scandal in the Cole-Malley affair, and that had led to the effection of laws which did guard the treasury very well. I don't think there's been any misappropriation of funds since those days. The bonding provisions were strengthened, and during my tenure we had Henry Schmidt as the state controller. And he's an interesting study in his own, because of, about 1910 or thereabouts, he applied for a permit to build a dam on the Colorado and received a license to build a private dam across the Colorado.

And that would be just where Boulder Dam is now. It was a low level dam, and he sought participation. He was unable to raise it in the United States which I think is illustrative to me that sometimes even the great giants of our industry don't have the perception to see the value of a dam. And he did secure some French backing from French capital, and he was about to build the dam or his supporters and financial backers were about to build the dam when World War I broke around the world and then that delayed that. Then it wasn't until some years afterwards that—after World War I that the move for building Boulder Dam went forward.

And of course correctly again, as I see it; it was built as a federal project, and Henry Schmidt's permit to build the dam fell by the wayside. But this is an interesting phase that

quite often escapes people, and if there had not been a World War I, it would probably have been built as a private dam because the project was on its way. All the required approvals had been given, and it was delayed by the war and later built as a federal project. All this is the same Henry Schmidt who became the state controller of Nevada for so many years. And it was a tribute to his foresight that he could see the advantage of having a dam at Boulder Dam. Of course I've said many, many times that the construction, the completion of Boulder Dam is what led to the tremendous rise in Clark County, because it brought people into the county. It gave it electricity for the use of its industries and its people. And without that, it would probably still be the sleepy, little town that it was in pre-Boulder Dam days.

And of course another phase of a very interesting story that should be told as an independent story, I think, is that actually it's never been too clearly pointed out that Clark County actually belonged in Nevada rather than Arizona. That's another problem that has arisen a number of times, and I'm convinced that Clark County is where it belongs and that's in Nevada. There's still a number of Arizonians that still claim the enabling act—all of the Colorado River as it flowed through at that time was properly a part of Arizona. And Senator Carl Hayden who was the long-time senator from the state of Arizona frequently chided me about the fact that we'd stolen one of the most valuable assets. But again repeating, it has been settled and passed, and Clark County is part of the state of Nevada. The state of Nevada and the midstream of the Colorado that flows through that area of the state is the dividing line between the two states. But these are problems that came up in varying form during the attorney general's days.

Henry Schmidt went on to be a very effective state controller; Dan Franks was the treasurer at that time, and Dan was born and raised in Lincoln County, Nevada. He came to the state as the treasurer, was one of the longest serving of all of the state treasurers. His successor was selected after I had left state government, so I dealt with the one man there and Henry Schmidt of the state controller's office. Of course John Koontz was the successor to Mr. McEachin and served for many, many long years as the secretary of state. The mining inspector was Matt Murphy during that particular period of time and in my state career and was later on succeeded by Merv Gallagher and then Art Bernard.

And during this period of time when I was first a deputy attorney general and next a full attorney general, a period of thirteen years, I was privileged to serve with three different men as governor of the state of Nevada. The first was Richard Kirman, a Reno banker, and a very, very fine businessman. This was one of his very few adventures into politics, and I think most people in Nevada thought it refreshing to have a non-politician as the governor for a change. And he did, I believe, an extremely fine job. He called on the attorney general's office only in moments of real need. He decided most of his problems on a business basis and on his long-time successful tenure as a businessman and as a banker.

Ted Carville was the next governor, and he served for a period of about six years, part of which was during my time as deputy attorney general, and the balance of the time as the full attorney general. So he was number one, a member of the same part of the Democratic party that I was; he was also a very fine lawyer and judge. His requests for opinions were not overdone. He called on them only when he felt that he couldn't make a decision himself, and he wanted the support or the

opinion of another lawyer. But he served very well as governor. We had a close personal relationship over those years, and then he resigned of course to serve out the unexpired term of Senator Scrugham.

And then the third governor under whom I served was Vail Pittman, the brother of Key Pittman. And he was a nonlawyer; he was a newspaper publisher, and he served during the time that I was the full attorney general, and he frequently called on me for legal opinions. And he was an easy man to work with. He had good, common sense and handled his problems with dispatch. There was very little delay, and he met most of the issues at that time unhesitatingly and quickly.

The lieutenant governors of course were varied during my time. Maurice Sullivan was a long-time lieutenant governor. When I came in as deputy attorney general, Morley Griswold was the [I lieutenant governor] and Fred Alward and then Maurice Sullivan, and just as I was phasing out, Cliff Jones was named as the lieutenant governor of Nevada. These are the office holders with whom I served during this particular period of time.

I think any mention of state officers with whom I served would be neglected if I didn't mention two men particularly. One would be Joe Farnsworth who was the long-time superintendent of state printing. I think he served from nineteen hundred and eleven through nineteen hundred and forty-two, some thirty-odd years, thirty-one years to be exact, as the state printer. He was absolutely unbeatable at the polls, and he ran a good shop, as they say in the printing trade. He was a "hot water plug" coming from Virginia City, Nevada. He was succeeded by John McCarthy —or Jack McCarthy as he was affectionately known. And he served during my tenure as attorney general. He was likewise a working printer, had come up from Hawthorne or

Yerington, somewhere in that area. And I'll never forget the first campaign where we campaigned together, he was too bashful to make the talk on his own behalf, so I was selected to plug for him, which I did willingly. And he served as the state printer for I think about six or seven terms and did a very effective job in that position.

Then I first came into state government, the surveyor-general was elected; and I served with two men during that period of time: Wayne McLeod, known as "Red" McLeod, and then later on, Louis Ferrari. Louis Ferrari succeeded Wayne McLeod, and they were surveyor-generals of the state. And I've commented about Mildred Bray and having served with her during my tenure as attorney general. I think that pretty well covers the state officers with whom I have served.

#### LEGISLATURES AND LEGISLATORS

During the time that I served as attorney general, we always looked with mixed emotions on those months when the state legislature was to be in session. At that particular time I was entrusted with the responsibility of appointing the bill drafters; and the bill drafting requested by the various legislatures, the senate and the assembly, was always trying because they wanted their bill produced and handed back to them almost instanter. We tried to encourage them, with mixed degrees of success, into requesting our drafting services and our bill drafting services well in advance of the session; and again, with mixed success. Some would do it, some would not do it, and then when they all came to Carson City the years in which the legislature was meeting, and in January, they all almost simultaneously wanted instant bill service.

We attempted to accommodate them by having additional lawyers appointed as bill

drafters. In those days they were under my direct jurisdiction. I was frequently called before various committees of the legislature to give my opinion as to the legality or the constitutionality of some issue that they were working on at that time. We attempted to accommodate them to the best of our rather small legal force with the very clear caveat that we were just one lawyer. An attorney general, even if he carries the title as the chief law officer of the state, is just as vulnerable before a court as any other lawyer. So we tried to make it very clear that we couldn't guarantee the constitutionality of it—that's always the first question they ask—we told them whether we thought it was constitutional or not and then they would act accordingly.

We were called frequently before them, particularly in the years that involved the gaming problems and the problems of putting the state more and more into an overall control of gambling; and I can recall one incidence when Senator [William F.] Dressler, the powerful republican senator from Douglas County, and Walter Cox, the other senator from Lyon County at that time, and Ken Johnson, the state senator from Ormsby at that time, came before me and asked me to simply draft a bill that made it very clear that the state had control, the overall control, of gambling. Before, that had been done just more or less by interpretation. So, we did draft legislation which led to the state gaming law; and again, I think with some pride, has held up reasonably well and against court attacks over the intervening years and gaming becoming stronger and stronger and becoming more and more a part of the life of Nevada. It's very important that they had good guidelines to follow. So we were called over on problems of that kind during the sessions, and we always tried to oblige. Normally we'd be called before the committee handling the

particular bill, but on a few occasions, as I recall back— called before the full senate or the full assembly on some question of overriding moment and importance.

*Which ones of these legislators did you find it easier or harder to deal with?*

Oh, I don't have any feeling or opinion on that at all; they were all very nice, Republic[an] and Democrats; they were all equally entitled to opinion. And, no, I think our relationships with the legislators over the years was very good. They came over not for a political opinion or not for our support, pro or con on their bills, but simply to get legal opinions primarily as to whether we thought it would be constitutional; most of the questions asked were constitutional questions, or occasionally they would ask if we had any further suggestions to making the bill stronger—had they covered all the points that should be covered—things of that kind. But I don't think we ever had any problems with any of them.

We had certain assemblymen and certain senators that would ask the question oftener than others, but that's the way any legislative body works. Some legislators don't fancy putting in a lot of bills—they like to correct the bill after it's in there; other people like to make a record for themselves as to being the introducer of the most number of bills. So it runs just the same gamut there as it does, I think, in any legislative body; the Senate of the United States, for example, there were those who simply had to be the first in introducing a bill on practically as many subjects as they could think about. Others didn't pay a bit of attention to introducing bills, but wanted to perfect it after it was introduced. So I think it follows just a general human pattern, and I really believe you'd find that true of any

legislative body in—any state legislative body in the United States or the Congress of the United States.

#### THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ATTORNEYS GENERAL

*Tell me about your activities in the National Association of Attorneys General.*

Well, I was always very active in the National Association of Attorneys General, and as a matter of fact I was elected president of the entire association in one of the later years of my tour as attorney general of Nevada. And it was a very fine experience because you find the opinions and the problems in one state are very closely allied to the problems you have in your own state. And of course there was some disparity in problems involving extradition. There were problems which required uniform laws, and in general the attorney generals were the backers of making the laws of the various states uniform within the states, so that there was no wide difference between the law of Nevada and the law of New Hampshire. But they were closely allied. And we spent much time at working those out. We had paid staffs, we made our recommendations to the legislature and in part based upon what our national association recommended as improvements in the laws of our state. They were primarily interested in uniformity among the states.

And I found it was a very worthwhile experience, made (as you always make in life I believe) many fine contacts with other attorney generals in other states. I was a very close friend, for example, of Pat [Edmund G.] Brown of California. That friendship remained throughout his career. He was attorney general and then later governor of the state. When I started out in the attorney

general's office, my legal counterpart in California was a friend by the name of Earl Warren, and that's a contact that I maintained all my life. And when I appeared before him in the U.S. Supreme Court when he was chief judge, I didn't appear in a legal capacity—I was a senator—and he was the chief judge of the United States, but we frequently were asked to appear and move the admission of our Nevada lawyers who wanted to practice in front of the Supreme Court. And I did that many times. He always had a saying about me, always referred to me as "Dana," Dana Bible. "Well, Dana, how are you?" And he did that because one of the famous football coaches from Texas was Dana X. Bible. And I always said that I always claimed him as a relative when he had a winning season, and when he—when the team wasn't doin' so well, I didn't think we were related, just as a little aside story. And until his dying day, even after he had retired, Earl Warren always with this great big smile on his handsome face and he was a great big handsome chief judge, and lawyer, and man; he was a controversial justice, but he moved into some real tough cases, and he wasn't afraid to call them. And he always called me Dana until his dying day, and that was a pleasant memory of a contact that I made through my National Association of Attorneys General.

There were others. Jack [Jacob] Javits of New York was attorney general of New York when I was attorney general of Nevada. He later became U.S. senator from New York and is still U.S. senator from New York. And there are others throughout the United States that I shared that same relationship with.

And there's a lot of satisfaction to it. They're contacts that stay with you all your life. Cal [Calvin] Rampton of Utah was a very close friend of mine during his attorney general days and then served with great

distinction as the governor of Utah, another example that comes to mind, and I'm sure there are many others around the United States if I was to run through the roster.

### THE McCARRAN BIPARTISAN MACHINE

*One of the things that you haven't talked about very much in this highly political office in a highly political town and so forth is the old bipartisan machine; this is the time when they're really in control.*

I don't agree. I think maybe I should mention in developing this history, some of the claims and counterclaims about a bipartisan machine in Nevada. I guess it could well be said that when I was working for Senator Pat McCarran for the first time (and that would take me back into the 1930s), I think there was evidence of a bipartisan machine and probably they had an agreement between many of the top people in the Republican party and the top people in the Democratic party to support one particular candidate and do it on a bipartisan basis.

I suppose Tasker Oddie was a product of the bipartisan machine. I think he was a tremendously able man, and of course the story persists even to this day (I don't know the complete veracity of this) that when Pat McCarran, who had repeatedly run for U.S. senator but unsuccessfully—I forget now how many times that he ran for the Senator's position; and of course in the earlier years before the direct vote amendment, he was unsuccessful because it was selected by the legislature. But in nineteen hundred and thirty-two, we were still in the depression, many people very well aware of it, and the story was that the very powerful law firm—and they were a powerful law firm of Thatcher and Woodburn—decided that this

was the best time in the world to eliminate Pat McCarran because Pat McCarran had decided he was going to run against Tasker Oddie, who was the incumbent U.S. senator, and I think a man with a very fine record and very creditable record, was a pleasant individual in person.

I think they decided well, this is once and for all the time we can eliminate Pat McCarran, and so they backed, I'm sure, though they probably wouldn't admit it, Tasker Oddie against Pat McCarran. But Pat McCarran had everything going for him, not only his own great ability and his familiarity of all the places in Nevada, but he had the backlash of a depression and he had as the Commander-in-Chief on his ticket a fellow by the name of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who I think history will write was one of the great presidents of the United States. And McCarran in those early years did embrace FDR, and FDR embraced him (that was to later fall apart), but back in 1932 and in '33, they were buddy-buddy, and McCarran was elected. I think that destroyed pretty much in Nevada, the bipartisan machine.

I've never thought there was any great evidence of any machine because you have to define your terms. There was never any machines during my period of time in Nevada that were comparable to the big city machines, the Chicago machine, which was one of the greatest and existed right through Daley—may still be some remnants of it. There was the Philadelphia machine, and there was the Pendergast machine, and they were real machines because they—political machines—because they really controlled the vote. In this I can't remember any period of my time where there was that type of machine. I was always accused of being a member of the "McCarran machine," and I always answered by sayin', well, if I was a part of it, I was very proud to be. He was one of my main sponsors, and I

thought he was a great senator, and I worked for him and [was] very devoted to him. And if there was a McCarran machine, I would welcome the help of his friends. I think in Nevada if there is a machine, it's just that the friends of one political individual will go to somebody that he might look with favor on. And I suppose that's how you define machine.

I remember in one of my campaigns where I was constantly being accused of being a member of a machine, I did a lot of walking, which is always a good way to try to get elected, and handshaking, which is another good way to try to get elected. I carried a pedometer with me and recorded the amount of miles I walked every day. And I said, "The charge has been against me that I'm a member of a machine, and the only machine that I have any knowledge of is this pedometer which will measure my mileage." Now that probably overstates the case a little, but in Nevada, other than based on friendship, I don't know of anybody that really commands you what to do or tells you what not to do.

I think now maybe that trend may change. I would hope it wouldn't because I think people should run as individuals. The problem today is the tremendous cost of elections. And so in my experience, even though people do put up money for you and say, "Well, this leaves you completely unattached and I'm never gonna bother you," your experience will soon teach you otherwise because if somebody puts up five hundred or a thousand or ten thousand, if they have a problem, they're going to lean on you to try to help them. And I don't see anything wrong in helping people that help you, but it always poses a question, particularly in a state which has as one of the main parts—maybe it's the main part today—of its economic strength, the gaming issue. So, but gamblers being what gamblers are, follow something that's

I'm sure industrial companies, manufacturing companies, and others follow, and that is, they help both sides, so they have a winner either way. And that's not an unusual spectacle, and I'm sure it goes on in Nevada many, many times; though if questioned I'm sure most of them would deny it.

*Well, what did you see in the activities of Norman Biltz and John Mueller and Pete Petersen?*

I think there were those in Nevada who would like to have held themselves out as the "kings" or the kingmakers of politicians in Nevada simply because of the feeling of power that it gave them. And of course they supported that very largely by money and by raising funds for one candidate and holding it back from another, and possibly again just repeating what I said earlier, I suppose if somebody does help you, you certainly look with favor on maybe treating them a little better than you would anybody else. But I think lots of people fancy themselves kingmakers, if that's the correct phrase, that really aren't. I think it's kind of handy to have on your side, but if they support you and support you through money, then if you win, they're very clearly gonna take credit for it because they like to be known as being your kingmaker.

I think it's more a personal thing than anything else, and of course I knew Norman Biltz very well; I knew Johnny Mueller very well, and I knew practically everyone of McCarran's closest friends. They were very helpful to him. But believe me, in my judgment, there's only one person who made Pat McCarran, and that was Pat McCarran. They threw him to the wolves when he first started out; he knew it, and he built up some friendships over the years and they supported

him. And I'm sure they held themselves out as being spokesmen for Pat McCarran. I think probably Pete Petersen was the closest as being the spokesman for Pat McCarran, but he was one of his earlier appointees and he was a very close friend. He helped Pat McCarran at a time when Pat McCarran apparently didn't have a chance to win, but did win; and he never forgot that. And so from my knowledge of the earlier problems there, Pete Petersen, I believe, was a spokesman for Pat McCarran, but I wouldn't call him a kingmaker. He was a spokesman because Pat McCarran wanted him to be a spokesman, and he was very happy to take the position and get many, many things for Pat McCarran, even reports on people that were for or against Senator McCarran.

Senator McCarran was always very concerned, particularly about those who might be against him, and of course he had the reputation, and I think it was probably deserved, of making very fast friends and very bitter enemies, and I believe that's true. Nobody has ever been any better to me than Pat McCarran. I hope I've shown my appreciation—tried to over the years; but if anybody crossed him, by the same token, he would try to go out and eliminate them from the political scene. You have records of that in Nevada, and Carville who owed his political life, I'm convinced, without a doubt to Pat McCarran, later in life became completely opposed to him. And that led to the battle between Bunker and Carville. And you had many instances of that kind. But I didn't see any great machine evidence there. It was always—unless by machine you mean friends of a person. I know Pat McCarran used to tell me [of] friends of his to go see. And that—if that's machine, then so be it.

*Well, I was thinking about some of these famous fights between the machine and the folks*

*outside. You mentioned the Bunker-Carville thing, and you were in Carson at that time—.*

Correct, correct. I was with Carville; Carville was my governor; I was his attorney general, and I knew Bunker very, very well, but I didn't think Bunker had any business running against Carville. That was my own personal opinion. It just so happened that Carville didn't win, but that's a good example. You're dead right. And Carville and McCarran used to be buddy-buddy; he made lots of them like that. McCarran and Bill [William S.] Boyle used to be great buddies, and then they fell apart when Bill Boyle did not get the appointment as U.S. attorney, and that's the time that Carville became the U.S. attorney. And that was his way up, because he handled or associated with the McKay and Graham cases and had great publicity and favorable publicity. So, they fell out along the way.

The attorney general tour of this period of eight years was a wonderful period of time in my life. I can't honestly recall exactly why I didn't want to run again except I think probably I had two things—maybe I had higher political ambitions, which I suppose I did. I've often been queried about it, and my memory isn't that sharp. But it wasn't the best time in the world to really retire and then try to get back into the political role I had, because I believe once you're in politics, if you're going to make that a career you oughta stay with it. But anyway, I built in a hiatus there by not running for a third term.

I probably should mention that my second term was probably the most gratifying I ever had because I believe that for the first and only time in the entire history of the state of Nevada an attorney general was selected without opposition. So I was not opposed, and I've often told the story that that was the easiest race I ever had. And I guess that

I became a little overconfident and a little cocky because the next time out, after having run for attorney general and being fortunate enough to come out unopposed—I took the only political defeat I ever had. A young man from out of the East, and as a long shot—I suppose he was about the biggest long shot of the political history of our state—he defeated me. And that taught me a lot of things, which have always helped me in the years since then. I never blamed anybody in that race except myself for not working harder.

And I was running in that particular race against Molly Malone, who was the incumbent senator with Pat McCarran at that time. And I made the mistake of running against Malone, and I'd overlooked a fundamental fact of life: that you've got to win the primary before you get into the general election. So by the time I woke up, I had lost by, I think, about four hundred votes, and I don't know that I ever received any more political advice of people who told me that they saw me on the corner of Second and Virginia on such and such a date and warned me about Mechling, and I'd see people in Elko that'd tell me they'd warned me about Mechling, and people in Ely'd say, "Well, you remember what I told you." And to be very honest about it, I think most of 'em made it up after they saw me get defeated. But in balance, it worked out very, very well. I think I had a crossroads decision at the time I decided not to run again because I either had to stay in politics or get back into practicing law. And I opt[ed] to try for a political career, which I did, and it finally came out very successfully.

But that was a traumatic experience in my life when I ran against Tom Mechling 'cause I felt that I had let the people of the state down, and I even gave serious thought at that time—and this is one of the impressions that I can very definitely remember—of leaving

the state of Nevada. And of course that would have been the worst thing in the world—you have to learn to take a defeat, as well as a victory now and then. It was the one and only defeat I've ever had in my life, and I feel sure that I was totally responsible for it. I didn't work hard enough. And, again, I made such a stupid mistake in forgetting that I had to get by the primary before I got into the general election. I can say this, I've never made that mistake a second time. And it's all worked out for the best.

But during the trauma of being defeated, you—it's hard to describe your personal experiences, but—or your personal impressions as you look back, but I really felt ashamed to walk down the street because I felt I'd let the people of Nevada down. And then I never had so many "I told you so's" in my life. "If you'd've done this, you'd've been all right," or "you remember tellin' me that," and so—and then when they nominated me (which is another phase that we will be going into very soon) when they nominated me to run for Democratic senator when Pat McCarran died in September 1954, many people felt that because of my Mechling defeat, I shouldn't be the nominee of the Democratic party. But that one I won very easily against one of the finest men I've ever known in my life and a fine candidate; and that was Ernie [Ernest S.] Brown. And I won that election, and restored my faith in humanity, and from that time on I've never had any difficulty being elected as U.S. senator.

As a matter of fact, when I retired just last time, many people wanted me to run again. I was cocky enough by that time at the—rather the twilight of what I thought was my political career—of feeling that I could have won. And I came to the conclusion that, and told many people—they say, "Well, how come you didn't run again? You scared you'd be defeated?"

And I said, "Not scared I'd be defeated; I'm scared I'd be elected, and I'm just tired." And I was; I had some medical problems which is the real reason for my not making another term, plus the fact that I've felt over the years, and still feel, that there's nothing wrong with a mandatory retirement age for a political figure at sixty-five or seventy, and so many stay too long. And of course, again, that's an individual problem. You find senators at eighty that are really sharp, and you find senators at eighty who are wobbling and not as mentally alert as they should be. But I've always felt that past sixty-five, one ought to look into another phase of life. That isn't particularly a popular concept right today, and most governing bodies have extended it and taken out some of the mandatory features. But nevertheless, I still believe that's very sound legislation.

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## A BRIEF SOJOURN AS A PRIVATE CITIZEN

### THE LAW FIRM OF BIBLE AND McDONALD

As we move out of the attorney general's office, we then went from Carson City to Reno. I started a law office at that particular period of time with one of my deputies from my attorney general days, Bob McDonald. We formed a firm under the name of Bible and McDonald; we practiced in the old Gazette building on Center Street in Reno, Nevada. And it was a partnership which started, really, as the outgrowth of our attorney general associations and has continued all my life up to the present moment; and though I am inactive in the practice of law, I still consider myself a partner of Bob McDonald. I think he feels the same way about me though we're not—though I'm in no way an active partner. It's been a long-ranging, very warm and dear friendship between the two of us, growing out of my earlier association with his father, the long-time editor of the Nevada State Journal, and as I've previously said, one of my leading political advisors and supporters.

We practiced law together with a variety of cases covering the whole gamut which could be expected as any two people starting out in the practice of law. Of course I carried with me a pretty deep association from my attorney general days, and probably the primary assignment that I had was to continue to handle water cases in which I had formed some type of an expertise, and I was asked to stay on as a representative in that capacity and did so in the negotiations of many of the contracts that still had not been completely resolved at the time of my termination of my duties as attorney general—carried those as a private lawyer and simply on a retainer basis from my attorney general days and my long-time association with the water problems involving and revolving around the Colorado River Commission, which I had taken over at the time that I first went with Gray Mashburn, the attorney general under whom I served for a period of time. He was very badly hurt in an automobile accident, and at that time he asked if I would take over his duties and

this was as my deputy attorney general days; they carried on into my attorney general days, and then in private practice when we formed our law partnership in Reno, Nevada. And it continued until such time as I ultimately went to Washington, D.C. as a United States Senator representing the state.

It there was one area in which I had some expertise, it would be in the field of the problems revolving around the Colorado River Commission, the division of waters of the state and related problems of power and water which were so tremendously important to the state of Nevada and still are, and will continue to be because in a semi-arid state or an arid state, as you care to characterize our climatic conditions, water is really the life blood of the desert, and many have said that water is the ingredient which makes the desert bloom like a rose. And that actually is true and can be seen in many areas of the state of Nevada, where without water it would be—it would just wither and dry out, but with water it can be put into beneficial consumptive use and into the civilizations which exist throughout the state. That was, of course, one of the main ingredients that led to the formation of the Newlands Project, so named after Senator Newlands, properly recognized as the father of the reclamation law and was the father of one of the early projects. Many people said it was the number one reclamation project, the Newlands Project in northern Nevada, but whether it was one or two, it was certainly one of the earlier ones and is the means by which water was dammed and preserved and held for use in the Fallon area and built a thriving community there, and over which there have been continuous legal scraps and still are. Right to this day they're scrapping over the amount of water that the Newlands Project should receive, and it is pending on appeal this many years afterwards

in the federal court system in the state and will be resolved sooner or later and finalized, which is what it should be, so that one will know exactly how much water goes, for example, to Pyramid Lake which is an Indian reservation and held under the protectorate or trusteeship of the United States government and how much will go to the Newlands Project which holds firm contracts which were required before Lahontan Dam was built. So those are all problems that related very closely to the work that I had been doing during my days as attorney general, carried over under a special assignment from the Colorado River Commission to do their work in aid of the attorney general, whose workload was getting increasingly large and difficult. And so I carried on in that capacity until I returned to political life.

The observations that I had during my years as first a deputy attorney general and an attorney general on our state government was a very healthy and respectful one regardless of the politics involved whether you were a Democrat or whether you're Republican. I think over the years that the state of Nevada's governmental organizations have served its needs extremely well. And I'm more than ever convinced of that as I continue along in various capacities in life. And I think here the smallness of the state and the fact that you are so close to the people and its problems, really, if I may use a colloquialism, it keeps you on your toes because the people are on that same block where you live and they don't hesitate in Nevada, and never have, to question whatever you might [have] done and what you might have done on one problem or another. I think it's a very healthy situation, one that I'm sure you don't encounter in larger states where the people of those states very seldom see their elected representatives, except possibly through the mediums of

television or hear them through the medium of radio. In this state it's far more personal, always has been, though we are getting larger and you're getting more removed from the people in the state as you do get larger; I still think it's a healthy sign and a healthy situation to have you right next to the people because they monitor you pretty well. Nevadans have never been bashful about expressing themselves, if you're doing something that they do not agree with, they're the first to tell you—they tell you emphatically. And I think it's a good moderator for the people in public life. Sometimes they complain about it, and I have myself over the years in various capacities, but I think on balance they've been very fair, and it has been in the best interests of better service from elected representatives to their state. I think that's one message that I carry out of my years of service in the state government and in county government, and then intensified, I think, in my twenty-plus years of service in the United States Senate.

### **THE CAMPAIGN OF 1952**

The opportunity to get back into politics after I had retired as attorney general came up very shortly after I retired and moved into private life in Reno, because at that time the U.S. senatorship was divided between Pat McCarran, who was the Democratic senator, and George W. "Molly" Malone, who was the Republican senator. And so in 1952, Senator Malone's term would expire, and there were many people that urged me to run against him and I suppose I had my political determination that must have risen within me many years earlier because I was prevailed upon to run for the Democratic nomination, and I did have a strong nucleus of support with the McCarran interests. I was always known as a member of the McCarran

"team," and Pat McCarran was a strong U.S. senator and proved it many, many times in his years of service.

They urged me to make the race, and George W. Malone as a Republican came in during the period of the Democratic political split and many people felt that he would not have been elected as U.S. senator if there had not been that Democratic split. Now that can be argued both ways, and I don't presume to know where the actual facts lie, though many people were convinced that if the Democrats had been one solid group, which they never are—never were and I don't suppose ever will be, that George Malone would not have been elected to the U.S. Senate. That is another story and has been told many times and with varying philosophies of how the two camps lined up and why they did what they did.

There were the devout followers of Key Pittman, who had passed on prior to that, and the followers who came up from the McCarran wing of the party, so-called. And of course the split that resulted from that, I think, carried on for a number of years. I think by and in large it's completely submerged as the death of the principals and time, jointly, healed so many of the misunderstandings; that's about what they were when you boiled them down—I don't think there was that much substance in their differences. But, they felt it very keenly at the time, and as a result, lined up almost in two varying camps.

And Senator McCarran being a very strong individual, very commanding individual, was determined that there should only be one head. He made it simpler because he was going to be the head, and for a long period of time was, the man who really called the shots, so to speak, in the Democratic party. He did that practically to his death; and it was death alone that took that one strong, dominant figure out of our Nevada political

life. There has never since that time been another Pat McCarran; I don't know whether there ever will be or not—there may well be. Our present governor, Mike O'Callaghan, is a man of strong convictions and power and being of the same Irish and general ancestry that Pat McCarran was, he too liked to pretty much dominate the scene and has, and very successfully I think both from his own personal standpoint, but more particularly in the best interests of the state. I think he has served in the best interests of the state many, many times just as Pat McCarran carved an unparalleled record of achievement for his state of Nevada. And so I think these men of power, as I would choose to call them, did do the state of Nevada great service in their two different fields, one in the state government and one in the federal government.

But, there were many people that did urge me to run for the U.S. Senate because of the fact that there would be a Democratic vacancy because it was held by a Republican, Senator Molly Malone, and many people felt that I was strong enough to win the election. In any event, I did agree to make the race and geared myself up to run.

I think I can philosophize on some of my feelings at that particular period of time. I had had a, what I class, and I believe pretty generally agreed upon, was a rather successful career as attorney general. I have no hallucinations at all about the fact that I undoubtedly felt that I was the natural man to go to Washington. I think I philosophized in that way, and there was no great deterrent to my making up my mind to run for the U.S. Senate at that time. Many people had urged me to run for governor; I did give it some consideration. Many people urged me to run against or to seek the Democratic nomination when Vail Pittman was thinking of seeking the same nomination. And, I weighed my

chances, I talked with my supporters. Many of them felt that I had made a wrong decision on not deciding to run for governor, but that was the decision that I made. And I chose, instead, to run for the U.S. Senate. really did have the choice, I think, in running for one or the other. So, I was pretty cocky, without a doubt, and I had practically succeeded George W. Malone, in my own mind, without the necessity of going through a primary or even running for office.

I learned many lessons in 1952. And the main lesson was given to me by a young upstart, as I characterized him at that time; I've learned to characterize him a little differently as I look back reflectively, but he was a young man out of the East. He married a daughter of a very prominent and very well-liked Democratic politician, a mayor of Wells. He married Margaret DiGrazia. And in about January of that year, 1952, he announced that he was going to run for the Democratic nomination. It was rather a startling announcement because, again, I think it was generally conceded that I was going to be the chief Democratic candidate, for the simple reason that I had worked for Senator McCarran, I'd been the attorney general, I was fairly well-known throughout the state of Nevada, and at least had imbued myself with the idea that I was a real strong candidate. I learned otherwise the hard way, and as I shall relate as we go along in the development of this historical narrative. George W. Malone, though a popular man, I don't think really was the strongest candidate the Republicans could have had, but he was the incumbent, and he was the incumbent by virtue of the fact that the Democrats had split into their long-time camps of Pittman followers and McCarran followers. And that led to a disunited Democratic front.

Tom Mechling was a shrewd young man from the East. He started out with capturing

the imagination of the people of the state on his repeated statements that he was fighting the "McCarran machine," that it was a one-man-controlled state, and Pat McCarran was that man, and that he was gonna fight the giant. It was rather a David and Goliath story, I think, as I look back on it. I don't think I thought it was a David and Goliath story at the time that it was happening to me, but he started out with very, very clever publicity. He was the poor boy fighting the money interests and fighting the entrenched few; he had only a limited amount of money according to his own accounts, repeated time and time again, so many people believed it. He and his wife started out campaigning the state and doing it almost door to door. Of all the campaigns I've seen run in the state of Nevada, I think he came the closest to campaigning the state, during this period of time—in earlier years some people may have campaigned individually more than Tom Mechling and Margaret Mechling, his wife. But from 1950 on, I don't believe there was anybody that covered the state as thoroughly and as expertly on a door by door basis as the two Mechlings. And for that they deserve great credit. And it reflected in the fact that the campaign worked out in his favor; I was defeated. I wasn't supposed to be defeated, and it was written up as one of the great political upsets in the state of Nevada.

I guess maybe it was, but I always said and I believe now, some twenty-five years later, that it was primarily due to oh, two or three different factors. Number one, the main factor, was that I didn't work hard enough which is usually always true where one loses out in an election. And, but I was out-campaigned, out-campaigned very soundly, really, because of the personal effort that Tom and Margaret Mechling put into his campaign on a house to house basis. They did it scientifically; they

made maps of the various communities to which they would go, and they went house by house in most of the areas. They had worked out a very clever design of having Tom Mechling campaign part—maybe one side of the street, for example, and Margaret, his wife, the other. And in those cases where they rapped on the door and nobody answered, they had a ready card available that they'd slip under the door indicating that they had been there, they had missed them, and they were very sorry and they solicited their support. That was very obviously a very clever campaigning device; it's one that I'm sure that many have adopted since then, myself included. I—sometimes I have to be honest and say that I'd kind of wait till I knew the person was gone and then I'd go to his house and slip the card under the door. But be that as it may, it got a personal message across to the occupants of these particular houses. And they did this in a scientific manner and covered, again repeating, as much of the state as any two people have ever covered in the political life of our state.

This bore great fruit. They ran almost entirely not against me, but against the McCarran machine. I was a "tool of the McCarran machine." I was the "hand-picked lackey." Nevada had better look elsewhere 'cause there'd be no independence in our senatorial thinking 'cause I would do precisely and exactly what Senator McCarran, my admitted sponsor, told me to do, so that he would have a second vote in his hip pocket at all times. He told this story over and over again. I must admit that it rather upset me. I thought I was rather an independent man; I wasn't a "McCarran lackey" though I was a great supporter of his and great admirer of his, but I thought I could use independent judgment—thought I did. But nevertheless, by constant repetition and his own little

team of supporters repeating it over and over again, I'm sure it had some effect. And I made the very costly mistake of underrating Tom Mechling; most people, as I started out, indicated to me—in polls indicated that it was just kind of a warming-up exercise. And it turned out to be exactly that; it warmed me up to where I was left at the post, but I wasn't heated up enough to get on to the finish line. And as a result, he defeated me, as I recall, by some four hundred votes in the primary. It was a narrow victory, but nevertheless it was a victory. And he went on from there as the Democratic flag bearer or standard bearer.

And undoubtedly, as we look back, he could have won the Democratic nomination and been the U.S. senator from Nevada—having won the Democratic nomination, could have been the U.S. senator from Nevada. The trend was there, the registration was there. But he made—he continued his—his theme of talking out very long and loud and clear against Pat McCarran and that it would be—that Pat McCarran should not have—should have somebody who's independent, and that he'd be that man. But he spent half of his time crying out against Senator McCarran's philosophies, particularly his beliefs in the immigration and naturalization bill, the so-called McCarran-Walter act, which brought many, many people in opposition to Senator McCarran. And he played the tune over and over again, continuing to run against Pat McCarran in the general election, rather than running against Molly Malone, the incumbent senator.

That was one of the main ingredients in his ultimate defeat, because his constant repetition of this type of an attack upon Pat McCarran, who was a good scrapping Irishman in his own right, had the fatal results to Tom Mechling because it made McCarran more and more determined to see

that this man, though a Democrat, should not be elected. And he openly opposed Mechling, the Democrat, against Malone, the Republican, because of the constant attacks which Mechling continued to make upon Pat McCarran. Many people believe, and I think it's probably right, that if he had not continued his attacks on Pat McCarran after the primary, that he could very well have been the United States senator from Nevada at that time. But these are some of the factors that went into rather an unpredictable defeat for Tom Mechling, who had the registration in his favor, who had won an upset Democratic victory. And so in the final results in that race of 1952 Molly Malone, Molly—George W.—Malone was continued for a second six-year term as a U.S. senator from Nevada. That's the way I analyze those two races. I never hesitated to admit that the main reason for my defeat was nothing other than the fact that I was out-campaigned and that I had not worked hard enough and that I didn't blame anybody in the world except my own individual stupidity in campaigning.

After the race I had, oh, a myriad of people indicate to me that they had previously warned me that I was going to lose if I didn't work harder. And I suppose that there were certain people that did sense that I wasn't doing too well and told me, but I think they were far more limited than those that claimed that they had warned me after the result. Be that as it may, it made no difference because I was defeated. I admit I was defeated. I took the full blame for it and profited by that the next time I ran for office, because I simply got outgunned in the '52 election with nobody to blame except myself. And out of that I learned many, many helpful things, and as later results proved, I never made the same mistake a second time because from then on I was elected by the people of the state four

times to the U.S. Senate, once for the short term, the two-year term, and then for three six-year terms for a total of twenty years. And I did serve just a little over twenty years in the United States Senate.

But it's very—very easy to pick up criticism and though I felt some of it was unjustified, I nevertheless swallowed my pride; it was hard to do. I think I felt that maybe I ought to leave Nevada, that I had been completely discredited, but I took a long rest, and time put everything back in the correct perspective. So often immediately after a defeat—this is the only political defeat I've ever had—but it was a difficult one because everybody was accusin' me of not doing what I should have done the way I should have done it; and repeated time and time again, people sayin', "Well it's nobody's fault; it's your own." I [chuckling] always admitted it was my own fault, nobody else's, but nevertheless it did hurt at the time and hurt for many months. There was a flickering of time, again repeating, where I felt, "Well, I'd better take my little old family and just move out of Nevada." But I think that's kind of a natural reaction after any type of a political election. Time and reflection usually straightens it around, puts it in proper perspective. And I think by staying on, toughing it out, if it can be called toughing it out, it all was righted, and the people of Nevada have been very wonderful to me in every other election, probably taught me a lesson then that I deserved.

*Tell me about the Biltz and Mueller connection here, with that election.*

Norman Biltz and Johnny Mueller were, of course, very strong individual business figures, primarily. But, over and above that, they had showed intense interest in politics, a desire to be made more and more a part of

it. And of course their means to becoming influential in politics was to select a champion and stay with him, and they did that in the case of Pat McCarran. They were great and strong supporters. They [were] primary money raisers for Senator McCarran in his campaign, and they did exercise considerable influence in the state of Nevada. Johnny Mueller was rated for many years—I rather imagine it was correct—as the prime—as the main lobbyist in the state legislature. He had worked for [William] Woodburn and [George] Thatcher and George Wingfield for many years, was well-trained in political ways and was a very, very effective lobbyist. He teamed up with Norman Biltz in many different adventures, real estate adventures and things of that kind. And they became the champions of Pat McCarran and helped him mainly in the financial area, in financing his campaigns.

They—there was one incident that grew out of—they were, I believe, probably lukewarm toward me though Johnny Mueller was a close personal friend; I feel—I think they felt that I wasn't any Pat McCarran. And I wasn't—never maintained I was. And, I think there was only one Pat McCarran and probably the way it should have been and was and is. But, they felt I wasn't as powerful and as outspoken as Pat McCarran, that maybe I wasn't the logical successor, as many people indicated, or the heir apparent or the crown prince or whatever you might want to term it in the political sense. They gave me lip service during the years that Pat McCarran was alive, but rather on a lukewarm basis. Once Mechling had eliminated me in the primaries, they then supported Molly Malone, I'm sure, but did it rather cleverly. They engaged Tom Mechling in a conversation, which was recorded, and proved to be rather detrimental to Tom Mechling's cause because it indicated

some of Mechling's ties and his financing from the East, and indicated for the first time that he hadn't run his campaign on a poor man's shoestring, but that he had help from many, many vested money interests in New York who very much opposed Pat McCarran, and primarily because he was the author and the main sponsor of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, which brought lots of criticism from people in the East.

So, this particular revelation of Tom Mechling being masterminded by other forces from without came to light during the general election of that year as the result of a conversation, a recorded conversation, which was revealed after the primary. As a matter of fact, I guess it was recorded after the primary and showed some of the plans that Tom Mechling had and particularly the fact that he was, again, being financed very largely by sources completely inimical and unfriendly to Pat McCarran. Undoubtedly that had some part to play in the ultimate victory by George W. Malone and most people figured, "Well, we don't know enough about this young knight in shining armor from the East and maybe we'd better stay with old dependable and well-known Molly Malone, because George Malone was a highly respected Nevada citizen, he was a graduate of the University of Nevada, he was a very fine engineer, he had a good public record, and so people decided to stay with him rather than swing to the Democrats. And in that particular year, undoubtedly Norman Biltz—particularly Norman Biltz—and Johnny Mueller had that part to play in upsetting the Democrats for the U.S. Senate.

*I was wondering about their activity in supporting you, or whether they had or hadn't.*

Well, I think the answer to that is, as I've tried to indicate (I hope I did that) that

their support—they supported me, but it was lukewarm, lukewarm support during the years that Pat McCarran was alive. They supported me primarily because Pat McCarran indicated they should support me, but afterwards they—with Pat McCarran being gone—they became even more and more lukewarm. Of course, it is true that upon Pat McCarran's death, their interest in politics waned tremendously, and though they showed some little interest after his death, they were never active the way they were during his years. In Pat McCarran they had a great champion and a man who could get things done; probably some of the things that were done were to their benefit. But I see nothing wrong in that because many people adopt political champions that get things done that have some rub-off insofar as they are individually concerned, and they were very powerful during those years, and they loved to tell about it; in fact, as you know, there is a book written by—about Norman Biltz, I think it calls him the "Crown Prince of Nevada," or the "Duke of Nevada." He relished the title, he liked that feeling of power, and he had his usual meetings at the Holiday Hotel where he would gather his political associates, and those closest to him, and they did exercise considerable influence. There is no doubt about it. And Norman Biltz is entitled to credit that comes to a poor boy who had nothing and parlayed it into a pretty good chunk of money. One way or another.

I forgot how much of that recording he actually revealed, but he recorded, put it on tape, and he managed to trap—if that is the correct word and I suppose it is—Tom Mechling on various questions that he asked him. And I don't know what those questions were—my memory is hazy on it; I think it was pretty well released by Norman Biltz, to the press, either directly or I think several times he didn't release it directly, but I think other

times it was released through the campaign offices of George Malone, who used it to show that this man wasn't the saint that he pretended to be.

*Did you ever have a chance to meet Mechling?*

Oh, many times, many times.

*And talk about the election?*

No, I've never gone into the election with him. See, he ran again, a second time. I think it was two years later, he ran for, I guess it was governor. But by that time, the people were rather disenchanted with him, and he didn't make a very strong showing. I believe he went to California; it seems to me he got tied into some type of a problem on books. Some type of book problem there—it involved the superintendent of public instruction—but again I'm pretty hazy on it and I wouldn't comment on it because I don't know enough about it. After all, I had in the meantime remedied my poor election ways and gone on to be elected, so I had plenty to keep me busy. No, he stopped by [to] see me in the office a number of times. was always very close to his father-in-law—and to his [brother-in-law]. Margaret DiGrazia had a brother who had a very distinguished military career, and we've been at his house when he entertained his father-in-law, or his father—it would be his father—and his mother; this was the colonel, Colonel DiGrazia.

He was stationed in Washington on several occasions; spent a very illustrious career and I don't know what his rank was when he finally came out. I think he came out of the service as a full colonel. I don't think he received his one star, but I could be in error on that. And we were very friendly, and during those periods of time he usually always had

his sister, who was Tom Mechling's wife, there with Tom. And we reminisced to a degree; I didn't go probing because I—[laughs] for no particular reason except other topics came up. But I've lost track of him in the meantime.

Occasionally he surfaces in putting some type of deal together and as near as I know he's still in the New York area. But I have seen him a number of times both in my own office and in his brother-in-law's home in Washington. But he apparently abandoned politics. I think I remember reading in the newspapers—it could be verified—that he came back, oh, within the last four or five years; he always had very fine relations with the press, and he always received good publicity. He was good copy. If I was a newspaper reporter I would latch onto him and use his color and his determination, and things he did in my stories because he was that colorful. But, he came back into Nevada, not too many years ago surveying the political situation, thinking that he might again return to Nevada and again make another bid for political office. But apparently the time had passed him by, and maybe the response he received was not what he thought he should receive. But in any event, as near as I know, he has abandoned whatever plans he might have had to run again for political office.

He was, of course, turned back in the general election in which I was involved—should have been involved—and then he was turned back on his next time out, which I think was either two or four years after that. The political history of the state of Nevada would nail it down. He was rather badly defeated, ran a poor second or third, and then he made this one subsequent survey of Nevada, and apparently abandoned all political thoughts, at that time and, I would assume, probably for the future, I don't know.

One of his shortcomings, obviously, would be that you can't duck in and out of Nevada, and just get here at election time and expect to have too much permanence. Others have tried it, and one of the examples was a man by the name of [William] Tyson, who ran and I think was elected to the Board of Regents. He later on, ran for governor, I believe, and was eliminated in the primaries. He made a very poor showing. And so occasionally we do have people who do come into Nevada and do establish residence, which is rather easily done, to run for political office. But that's the history of Tom Mechling as I remember.

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## CAREER AS A U.S. SENATOR

### THE ELECTION OF 1954

The death of Pat McCarran in Hawthorne, Nevada, in September of 1954, opened up an unexpected political vista insofar as I was personally concerned. I believe that I had just about determined, that having returned to the private practice of law, I would continue in that capacity, and try to become a lawyer instead of becoming a political animal.

However, his death brought a new demand on me from many of my long-time and faithful supporters to run for his vacancy. The governorship of this state at that time was under the control of a Republican, Charlie Russell. And Charlie Russell, immediately upon the death of Senator McCarran, after a respectful time, which he observed to await his final funeral services, he appointed Ernest Brown, who was a dynamic, young district attorney from Washoe County and Reno, Nevada, and a man who had received considerable publicity in the northern part of the state, as the district attorney of Washoe County. Labor was making certain inroads in

this county and area at that time. Ernie Brown had rather strongly resisted some of their moves and some of their efforts to organize. He was no darling of labor, it was safe to say, and he was a brilliant young lawyer. Ernie Brown and I had gone back to the University of Nevada days, and I knew him extremely well. I was very, very fond of him. We got along very well. I had occasion, as attorney general of the state, to be helpful to him as a district attorney in this county, during the period of time that I was attorney general of Nevada and he was district attorney of Washoe County.

I really believe that his appointment by Charlie Russell was a popular one. I think it was well accepted by the Republicans, and they were happy to see him appointed as the U.S. senatorship.

It is rather ironic that I had, during my term of office as attorney general, personally written an opinion saying that the philosophy of the constitution was to fill a vacancy at the earliest possible moment, by the people of the state, rather than by appointment,

where it could be done. Now Pat McCarran's death came at such a time that there was ample opportunity—not long opportunity, but ample opportunity, to stand for election, which was the philosophy of the state. So, I was then just getting over my bruises as the defeated nominee for the Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate, and a number of people suggested that I should run. They did that either, I suppose, did that largely out of sympathy or sorrow or whatever rationale they used to try to urge me to get into the race for U.S. Senate.

So, after the appointment, we challenged the appointment. I'd better back up for a moment and say that once it was tried in the newspapers, lawyers came up with their opinions as to whether I was eligible to run or whether I was not eligible to run, and of course the first thing that had to be done was that I had to secure the nomination of the political party of the state or the executive committee of the state. And we put the wheels in motion. There were many of my strong supporters from my earlier campaign that urged me to make the effort and to test it in court.

I took the position I suppose rather naively, but rather cockily again, that if I could get on the ballot that I could get elected. And I guess that was the right philosophy to have, but in any event our first battle was to try to get the nomination from the political committee, the Democratic State Central Committee. The statute provided that they had the appointing power. So we moved quickly. I guess I learned much of this as a result of my Mechling campaign—to move fast—to move quickly, and I received the unanimous vote of the central committee, the Democratic Central Committee, to put my name on the ballot, following the terms of the statute.

Ernie Brown did the same thing with the Republican committee, but he also challenged my right to be placed on the ballot. I was first nominated by the Democratic party subject, of course, to being able to get on the ballot for the 1954 election. I filed the suit, basically, in Washoe County to enforce my right to get on the ballot. The trial judge, as I remember it was Judge Maestretti at that time, ruled that it was too late for me to be nominated by my party central committee, and he denied my right to get on the ballot. At that time, it then led to an appeal to the state Supreme Court, where it was appealed and I had strong support from many fine lawyers, needless to say, mainly Democratic, who argued the case for me.

I remember Jack Halley was very instrumental in my behalf. Bill Forman of the firm of Woodburn and Thatcher was very, very active on my behalf. My former deputy attorney general, Bill Mathews, thought my position was correct. And I think he argued—. Jack Streeter, young lawyer, just on his way up felt that my position was right.

As I recall it was argued in front of the [Nevada] Supreme Court by Jack Streeter. I think by Bill Forman—at least if Bill Forman didn't appear personally, he at least was a great help to me, in briefing the law. And then my former deputy, and full attorney general of the state, Bill Mathews, and I've always felt very grateful to Bill Mathews because I think he had every right in the world to feel a little chagrined at my earlier temerity in running for attorney general when I was a deputy but he was senior to me, at that time. Of course, those were political misunderstandings that time heals, and we did end up as very close and fast friends, as I have earlier indicated. Anyway, my side of the case was argued by Bill Mathews and Jack Streeter—possibly by Bill Forman. I believe those were the main

lawyers who conducted the argument. Lester Summerfield represented the Republican Central Committee, and presented the main argument on behalf of Ernie Brown.

The Supreme Court came out unanimously saying that the contention that I had advanced was the correct one and that I should—that both names should go on the November ballot, and let the people of the state decide. There were many side issues to the problem, which I won't particularly burden the record with. But one of them, for example, was that there wasn't sufficient time to get out the absent voters' ballots. Now that was disposed of by the state Supreme Court, and was not appealed higher. They accepted the verdict of the state Supreme Court which was a unanimous verdict, and I think undoubtedly had a great deal to do with the acceptance by the opposition, in view of the fact that it was a unanimous decision, strengthened the contention that we made that it should go to the people of the state. So the order was made by the state Supreme Court that both names go on the ballot.

One redeeming feature out of this entire exercise in political warfare was the fact that the amount of time remaining for campaigning was very short so—I think both from the standpoint of the electorate of the state, and both Ernie Brown and myself—it was rather a blessing that we didn't have a long, extended campaign. But in any event, we covered the state. I made extensive use of an airplane—I think we called it the "Victory Special," and we used the many, many rather novel campaign gimmicks. I think we used the helicopter for the first time—dropped into various areas where you couldn't possibly reach, if you had to drive all the way.

But there was a sight! I can recall one incident that I think should probably be mentioned, and that is that we were always

an attraction wherever we went flying around in a helicopter. And we were followed by practically all the children in the community, so we always had a good audience, but maybe not too many adults. And it caught the fancy of many people and was commented on, and as I say, it was a part of our political campaigning, and I think a very important part, and probably had some effect in my ultimate election.

In that particular race, I think I won by something a little over twelve thousand votes in this state, which was a very healthy and comforting margin to win on the first trial. And so it was with that backing that I took off for Washington. Ernie Brown had already been sworn in on the interim appointment by Governor Russell, and he was serving at that time. Interestingly enough, the McCarthy censure session was already in progress, and Ernie Brown had heard practically all of the testimony up to the time that I was elected and qualified. I think there were only a few days left in the session—the special session—and, when I was finally certified as being the newly elected U.S. senator from Nevada—I think there were two or three days left, if my memory is right—I took the position that since Ernie Brown had heard all of the testimony, and it was just like conducting a trial, and that it would be unfair for me to go in and vote without having heard the evidence, or the cross examinations that occurred during the censure trial, and as a result, I did not vote at that time.

I think I was qualified either a day or two one side or the other of the final submission of a censure problem to the senators of the United States. Ernie Brown cast a vote—as I recall it, he voted against censuring McCarthy. I, of course, withheld my vote because I had not been qualified. After the vote (and the censure did prevail, by a vote, I guess of a good two to

one) I was then sworn in, and Ernie Brown stepped aside, gracious in every manner. He offered to step aside before the vote; I reasoned it was not the right thing to do, and so I did not claim it—I think I probably could have claimed it—probably could have voted for censure or against censure. And of course the question then, one of the political questions that arose—if I had accepted the opportunity to be sworn in and had been entitled to vote, as I would have been, would I have voted to censure McCarthy or would I not?

I think in frankness, as I look back and refresh my memory and read the record, I simply took the position that there was no way that I could determine, one way or the other, unless I had heard it all or had reexamined and carefully examined the entire record. The Democrats, I believe, unanimously voted to censure McCarthy. The Republicans dividedly supported him.

But, I have never come to firm decision on that. And, the matter is—it is a part of history that has been written, and there was no closeness at all in the censure vote. It was a strong two to one to censure Joe McCarthy, and I did meet him and became acquainted with him when I was sworn in.

I think it is no more than proper that I speak, as I have so many times, of my great admiration for Pat McCarran. Strangely enough, I never knew Senator McCarran until after I went to Washington and started to work my way through my law school. Our paths had never crossed in Nevada, and I knew him, of course, by reputation and the terrific reputation that he had made, not only as a trial lawyer, which there was none better, but his very, very important contributions when he became a jurist on the Supreme Court of the state. He wrote some landmark decisions, some decisions that were quoted in many other places. One decision that

comes to my attention, is the fact that he held that it was completely admissible to put the palm print of a suspect into evidence. And a palm print served a good deal in the same way as a fingerprint would in identifying the accused, and he was tied to the crime and was subsequently convicted of the crime of which he was charged. It was armed robbery, as I remember it, and there was some corroborating evidence, but most of the evidence depended upon the palm print of the defendant that was found on the mailbag that had been taken from the train. And through this identification he was convicted and this was cited in many, many cases throughout the country as proper admissibility of evidence; and Senator McCarran, as Justice McCarran, Judge McCarran, wrote many other, similar opinions that were quoted far and wide. He was a very brilliant lawyer. He was also a very, very brilliant jurist. And he wrote beautifully; he wrote intelligently. I don't know his percentage of reversals, but my impression is that he had a very high rate of being sustained by the high court when he was appealed. The decisions were clear, easily read, and again pointed out the law as he saw it, and usually sustained by appeals. Such was his work on the Supreme Court, and of course one of his life's ambitions was to become a United States senator and he made the attempt a number of times but rather unsuccessfully.

When he was nominated the last time and the one that led to his successful election as a United States senator, I believe it was probably in the depth of the Depression, many people felt that Tasker Oddie (who incidentally was a splendid man, and a very, very fine bearer of the Republican standard) was thought to be almost unbeatable. I think some of those who in earlier years opposed Senator McCarran felt, "Well, let's let him have another chance of it; he won't beat Tasker Oddie, anyway."

But he confounded them, and of course this was in the depth of the Depression, and FDR was just on the rise. And Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected by a landslide throughout the United States and there was a change and there was a revolt against Herbert Hoover, and McCarran rode along on that particular tide, and undoubtedly his running as a Democrat, running with FDR had a great deal to do with election. And he was elected to the U.S. Senate—U.S. senatorship, and started a career that lasted until he dropped dead of a heart attack on stage in Hawthorne on that September night in 1954.

He gave to me a great, great insight into the practical side of politics, because in traveling with him, driving him, as I did, to many places around the state, I saw that one of the ingredients that made him such a successful politician—and that was—the main ingredient, I suppose, was friendliness, and his ability to go into any area in the state of Nevada, and to call countless people by their first names.

He had been born—in fact he was the first Nevadan to be elected to the U.S. Senate who was born in Nevada. And he showed great recognition of the people of this state, very sympathetic with their problems, great knowledge of the area's problems, and an intense interest in trying to help Nevada. I think that was one of his hallmarks of fame—he had many of them. But I think that was one of them.

And he inculcated in me I am sure, probably a desire to go on in the field of public service, attempting to help people and he helped many, many people. There were very few who didn't appreciate it. Occasionally, over the course of his career, I'm sure he found out, as all of us find out, there are those who are grateful and those who are not grateful. And I don't know, but I've always felt that

the saying that the power of appointment is no great reward for successful campaign or successful candidate because those that receive the appointment feel that they deserved it anyway, and the others, the others, that do not receive it are quite—generally, very, very upset about it, and sometimes to the extent of going out, and, as I have them say about me, and I am sure Senator McCarran had said about him, "Well, we'll get him the next time he runs."

But, so it's a divided blessing, but it was a power that he had, and that later on, I had, and one on which I've had mixed feelings about its value as a political tool. Generally it's felt to be a very valuable political tool, and we use it with that in mind. I'm not sure that that's completely true.

Senator McCarran made great achievements in many, many fields. He was the father of the aviation act, and was (during this period of time, aviation was just starting to grow) undoubtedly responsible for many of the early acts that gave to aviation a regulatory body and built it on a sound base, and I think has grown and prospered since that time.

He was the co-author of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, one which almost cost him an election at one time. And one which he stood firm and which wrote far-reaching legislation governing the immigration of people from other lands. It was said that he was very, very restrictive to those from southern Europe, mainly those from Italy and those from Greece. And he received opposition because of this. But he reasoned it out. We had to control and very carefully, those we permitted to come to this country. He was one of the leaders in that field.

He wrote much of the legislation dealing with the judiciary and of course, he ended up, as the chairman of the Judiciary Committee and one of the ranking members

of the Appropriations Committee. And in the Appropriations Committee, he was the chairman of the State Justice Subcommittee, and his strong influence and strong hand was felt there for many, many years in the money he appropriated and the strengthening that he gave to the various agencies.

Over and above all of this, he had the Irish temperament, which made him a real fighter. At the time that he went into the United States Senate, there was a tradition that newcomers should listen and not be heard. He paid no attention whatever to that. And he immediately threw himself into the thick of all the various controversial problems that came about at that time.

And there are always controversial problems, in the federal legislation, and I am sure there probably always will be. One of his great fights was on behalf of the veterans, where he took the position diametrically opposed to that President Franklin Delano Roosevelt took and he won. This was about the time that Franklin Delano Roosevelt conceived the purging of the Senate in order to acquire more Supreme Court justices and McCarran was one of about five or six senators who was marked out for purging, and as a matter of fact, Franklin Delano Roosevelt did enter into the Nevada political scene attempting to purge Pat McCarran, but he was unsuccessful. McCarran took the challenge and defeated his opposition of that day, Albert Hilliard, very, very handily, and went on to be elected as United States senator.

These were hallmarks of a man who was a born fighter, who had always been pretty much on the outs with the regulars of the Democratic party, and who finally lived long enough to see his own machine, and I use the machine advisedly, because I think he was the last of the real senators, or governors, who had

a machine that you really could call a machine where he could call on various people to help him during the elections, which he did.

Of course one of his attributes, or failings, whichever one wants to call it, was in the fact that he made very, very hard and fast and loyal friends, but he also made very bitter enemies, so that he came up with that particular kind of a mix where there were those who really went out and would work against him; on the other hand, there were those who were devoted to him and would do anything in the world to see that he was elected.

He served Nevada extremely well; he loved Nevada just as one would love a family member and everything he did in the ultimate was pointed toward making Nevada a little better place in which to live. He made the United States of America a little better place to live. And for all of those things he deserves a great and lasting tribute and I believe people today, even though they all—didn't always recognize it, now know some of the things and some of the advances he made for his country and for his state.

*Did he discuss these accomplishments with you?*

No, as I remember it, in my conversations with Senator McCarran, he didn't single out any of his accomplishments or achievements. I think knowing the man, and having traveled with him, and having been very close to him, that he felt that practically everything he did was an accomplishment. I think that when you boil it all down he was proudest of all his accomplishments in the field of aviation; in his accomplishments in establishing, as he did, a landing field at practically every crossroads in Nevada, where an airplane, in distress perchance, could land in an emergency; and the state of Nevada was honeycombed and

still is, with landing strips built in many, many different areas of the state.

The safety devices and the towers, and the other equipment that is necessary to make aviation safer and safer—I think he took great pride in all that. I think he took great pride in bringing post offices, new post offices, into various areas of the state. Or new federal buildings into various areas of the state. These are all accomplishments which can be very easily pointed to, and accomplishments for which he was certainly justly proud.

So, I think his greatest accomplishment, or his greatest sense of accomplishment would be in the strengthening of Nevada. Because, he did love it, as I say, just as he would a family member.

*Did he talk to you about the maintenance of his machine? So many people consider you his heir apparent, or whatever you want to call it in the political field. Did he tell you how to keep the thing well oiled?*

I think he showed me, and probably through—through showing and telling me about his own political success—trying to educate me, to take up the mantle, when and if he would pass on, which of course would be inevitable, I think he did very honestly, consider me to be the logical one to follow him and I think he evidenced it in a great many ways—probably more particularly by the assignments that he gave to me, by confidences that he shared with me, and I think that was his wish and desire that I succeed him and at least try to succeed him. I know for example, that in my defeat by Tom Mechling, he was extremely upset by the defeat. He was very much upset by the fact that I hadn't called upon him for more help than I did. I, whether rightly or wrongly, as

we look back at that particular race of mine, and in the long run I don't think it made one iota of difference, but at that time, as I have indicated in earlier dictations, I was so badly hurt that I was about to leave the state. I think he felt that if I had called on him more and oftener, that it probably could have been avoided. No one will ever be able to know that answer.

I purposely did not call on him as much, maybe as I should have and I reasoned that out that I wanted to be my own man. I wanted to have a sense of independence, and I of course was branded as being nothing more nor less than a lackey for McCarran, and if I were elected at the time of my race with Mechling, I would be little more than a vote in the hip pocket of McCarran. I always try to counter that by saying that [I] thought I was my own man. I wanted to be independent, and I'd vote with Senator McCarran when I thought he was right, but if I thought he was wrong, I wouldn't hesitate to say so and oppose him. And that was, I believe, my honest conviction, but nevertheless, there were many people that felt that I would simply be his tool, and be his lackey. And I think it is correct to say that he looked upon me as (during the time that he was alive and moving along in life)—that I'd be very apt to be his successor.

I really believe that. I can't ever remember that he specifically said, "When I pass on you're going to be the guy." I can't remember him saying that. But the indications of his treatment of me and things he did after his passage, things that he had prepared to do to help me, were evidence, at least to my satisfaction, that he honestly did feel that I should follow him, if possible. So I really believe—I can't remember that he ever spelled it out—one, two, three, four, five for me

because I have a feeling that he felt that I was smart enough to at least to be able to figure it out myself, which I think would be the correct answer to that question.

\* \* \* \* \*

So, having missed the one time; after his death, we come into the second opportunity, and once I qualified on the ballot, then it was up to me to put on a winning campaign, which I attempted to do and actually did accomplish. It was an interesting race because it was a short race. I think that as much as any one thing has always proven to me that most political races are too long. People get tired of them—they get worn out by them, and, this—we covered the state rather thoroughly, in an airplane expedition. I used, at that time, Chet Smith, who was with Senator McCarran, as my campaign manager. I used Eva Adams, who was his administrative assistant, as my administrative assistant, and we started from there, and went on to cover the state as thoroughly as we could in the limited time that we had.

I don't think it would have made any difference if the campaign had gone longer and looking back, and refreshing my memory, I see that Ernie Brown did exactly the same. We did campaign throughout the state in "whirlwind" fashion. And covered the state, I believe, about as thoroughly as we could have even if it had been much longer. Nobody knows what a longer campaign would or would not have done. I have a feeling it would have come out just about the same, and that we really wrung out about all of the senatorial votes that we could in the shortened campaign.

Chet Smith was my campaign manager, and he stayed with me practically my entire political career. Pete Echeverria, a very, very

prominent Reno lawyer and fraternity brother of mine, agreed to help me and the two of us campaigned the state together in what we called the "Bible Victory Special." Later on—I think I may have commented on this before—used helicopters in many areas, and we at least attracted crowds, particularly of the younger generation who had never seen a helicopter. It was a great device to hop up and down within the city; we particularly made good use of it in the Las Vegas area. It was a novel method of campaigning and created attention. There's always gimmickry in every campaign, and this one was certainly no exception.

We came out successfully and I won by something like ten thousand votes and it was a year in which General Eisenhower was running for his second term. He was elected in the state of Nevada by some eighteen thousand votes, and I was elected by ten thousand. One of the upsets was—or least so written at that time—was that Charlie Russell defeated Vail Pittman. One of the very, very few times that he ever lost, Walter Baring, the congressman of the state, lost to Cliff Young by some six thousand votes.

And this was the time when Rex Bell, the very charming movie star was on his way up the political ladder, he was elected as lieutenant governor. So—and the right-to-work bill was on the ballot at that time, and was one of the critical issues that had to be faced because the people of the state voted for a right-to-work bill, and of course, that was contrary to what organized labor had wanted.

I said, upon my successful election (and I was about the sole surviving federal or state—top state official, who was a Democrat), I made a statement as—that I had picked up from doing my preparatory work toward this oral history, and I said something that I think is a truism and I found it was true. I said that

"I realize that as far as politics are concerned, I've become target number one." And I found out it was true, as I moved forward in the top political spot, as a Democrat in the state of Nevada. All the other top spots were held during that period of time by Republicans.

But this was my advent into the United States Senate. And at that time I fully intended to serve as long as the people wanted me, and I have said this I think repeatedly, and brought my family back, composed of a daughter and three sons, and they were true westerners—they didn't particularly care or like the Washington environment, though I thought we were fairly happy there. They kept wanting to go back home, and undoubtedly had considerable influence the next time election got around to be talked about, studied and pursued.

I kept Senator McCarran's long-time administrative assistant, Eva Adams, as my administrative assistant. I knew Eva very well. We had gone to the University of Nevada together; we both worked on the University of Nevada Sagebrush together; and I also knew her father, Vein Adams, who was a mining man, knew him very well, so I was delighted to keep Eva on. She remained with me until I had the opportunity of giving her a deserved promotion—nominating her as the director of the Mint. I had, in my two years, three years service during that period of time, I had become a very, very close, good friend of John F. Kennedy. We were both seated in the back row of the United States Senate. He was one seat removed from me. It was John F. Kennedy, next to him was Mr. Pat McNamara of Michigan, and Alan Bible of Nevada.

Pat McNamara and I were sworn in on the same day. In the course of that very close contact, I became extremely friendly with John F. Kennedy, and he was always more than kindly to me. So when the opportunity came

up for me to give Eva Adams a deserved raise and a deserved promotion, I didn't hesitate a minute to speak to the then President John F. Kennedy as to her qualifications and my firm belief that she could handle the job extremely well. She was a most capable woman, and did a wonderful job for me. But this seemed to me to be the opportunity for her to have a promotion which would give her more stature, and there was talk during much of that time about her returning to Nevada, and running for office herself. And I think she would have been able, whatever office she sought. That never materialized, but the directorship did—in fact. I had the occasion to recommend her for a second term when Lyndon B. Johnson became president of the United States. (That will fall into place a little bit later on.)

*There is another question that I wanted to ask you about—Eva's appointment to the Mint. There is an indication that with her appointment at the Mint, there was a division of the authority at the Mint with another person and that it was because of Eva's appointment that this happened. Do you recall what that was?*

There was some division of authority and was some—I can't recall it independently, but I can recall by doing just a little research, but there was somebody else who really thought they should have—they divided the authority. In other words, the prior director of the Mint had more authority and her responsibility was broader than Eva's. They cut Eva's down and gave somebody else, who I think thought she was going to be director of the Mint in the place of Eva, gave her some of the other responsibility. Now what they were, I just don't know off the top of my head, but again I can check it out—because it is correct.

*I think that Eva had become somewhat controversial.*

I don't know that she became controversial. I never sensed that other than her close tie, which was no secret, she had a perfect right; she was always thought to be in Nevada, I'm sure, the spokesman for Biltz and Cord. I think there was no doubt about that, that she was extremely close to them, and it may be that she became controversial because of that. I thought she always had the right to choose her own friends, and of course she was close to them, and Johnny Mueller, and I'm sure she—and originally they weren't buddy-buddy with McCarran, but I think through Eva and her influence over McCarran, and her closeness to Biltz and to Cord (she was close to both of them, no doubt about it), and she tried to arrange a marriage between them, in effect, and then was very successful. But if that made her controversial, that's what it would have been about.

*Well, the remark that I read in your scrapbook was that she had become so controversial that you couldn't afford to fire her and that you couldn't keep her, so the promotion into the Mint had something to do with that, and that the dilution there had something to do with the same situation.*

I think her authority was diluted, but she had the sole say as the director of the Mint. I'm trying to think what else there would have been in there that—I think they split it up in such a way that the coinage problems—that would be a mint problem—I'm just trying to think what the problem could have been. But you're dead right. I don't think—she must have spoken out on the minting of silver dollars, but I just have to refresh my memory.

## SUMMARY OF LEGISLATION IN THE FIFTIES

One of the first problems that I faced was one with which I had considerable familiarity, and was probably fairly well prepared to handle, and that was the question of the southern Nevada power question, which was constantly recurring, and the big problem was the division of the power that had been allotted to Nevada. And that was carried over for a good many years.

The state of Nevada had a firm allotment of power, but it had to exercise that right within a certain time limit. And strangely enough, as we look at that problem now some twenty-five years later, we wonder why Nevada took so long, and hesitated so much in finally exercising its right to take its full share of the dam power from Hoover Darn. But they did, at the last minute, exercise that right and now have far exceeded that first option which they renewed or exercised. So we had many problems in that first term of mine with the southern Nevada power allotment.

It was at that time that we started the Washoe Project. Senator Molly Malone, who was skilled in water problems as the water engineer of the state prior to his service in Washington, and I joined in a bill to bring about the creation of the Washoe Project. And that to northern Nevada and western Nevada meant a great, great deal because it was very obvious that if we did not have upstream storage, then much water would escape. And so I've always looked upon that as a joint project, which did a great deal to the building of this particular area here in Washoe County.

I recommended and suggested, on election, that we continue the Western bloc of senators and that was accomplished and we did meet regularly in those earlier years to serve—completely apart from partisanship, completely apart from whether you were a

Republican or a Democrat—in the interest of the West and advancing and in the increasing of aviation, and building service lines and feeder lines into the various smaller areas to give them better service.

And this was particularly true, for example, in the—it came up during the first term of office when we successfully made a plea for bringing air service into White Pine County. This was the first time that had ever been accomplished, and it was finally accomplished and is still being served by the major airlines—part of the major lines, at least, as is Elko, Nevada on the United Air Lines route. And this was the start of that. United Air Lines resisted rather strongly, at that time. I think they have always had some doubts about it because it was what they call a very low passenger load factor. I don't [know if] it's ever increased to what United Air Lines feels is necessary in order to make it a good investment. But nevertheless, it was a service which an isolated area particularly needed, and I think it's helped White Pine a great, great deal.

That was inaugurated and initiated and actually started during my first term of office. Another problem, which came up during my first term, was the emancipation of Boulder City. Boulder City was a federal city at the time that I went into the United States Senate, and succeeded Senator McCarran. The federal people were very desirous of shedding their responsibility as the city managers and caretakers for a municipality so they asked that we introduce legislation, which we did, to emancipate Boulder City and make it an independent city, governed by the same general laws that govern all the cities and municipalities in the state of Nevada.

There was considerable resistance, but we continued—had hearings. We heard both sides. The bill was finally hammered out and

over the years, I think has been fairly well adopted by the people of Boulder City. The main objection was that if it was thrown open to public mandate, public vote, that you would have gambling, and uncontrolled liquor sales. That has not materialized and Boulder City is really today one of the finest cities in the entire state of Nevada. And, totally, almost, through local government.

But that was one of the bills that came up during the first period of time. It is interesting to note that in my first term back in 1954 and '55, there was a problem that would sound familiar to people of Nevada in this year of 1978, and that is a strict protest against higher grazing fees. That was a perennial and one on which we had many, many battles. We always try to put in under a formula. The price of grazing and the price of the product of the public domain, which was federally owned, should be governed by the price of the beef, or of the lamb, which were the two main products of grazing in Nevada; and we have never been successful in doing that. Even today they are trying to tie the grazing fees, the charges for the grass on the public domain, in accordance with the price that they receive—that the rancher and the livestockmen—the stockman, the cattleman and the sheep man, receive for their product.

And, so that is one that originated in that first year during my period of time and I really think it was a fair formula. I'm hoping as they keep grappling with the question, year after year, over these many years, that they will arrive at some satisfactory solution.

I note that with great pomp and with great evidence of superior knowledge, I predicted on March 7, 1955, which is a little over twenty years now, that Nevada would reach the population of three hundred thousand by 1970. As a crystal ball gazer or as a predictor, I certainly flunked out very badly, because

they've passed three hundred thousand many years ago.

Molly Malone, during that period of time, when we were fighting for more power, more water—it was a joint fight, and we joined forces in an attempt to accomplish this—showed the audacity, and many, many people challenged it, of saying that Nevada, some day, would have five hundred thousand people. Now, in the period of time of which I am talking, some twenty-five years ago that was felt to be by many of us, myself included, to be an unrealistic figure. We rather scoffed at Senator Malone because of his prediction. And of course, this is another figure that has fallen by the wayside some years ago, and I guess, as I reminisce and dictate this oral history, that we are well above eight hundred thousand now, leave alone the three hundred thousand, which I figure was a daring prediction on my part; or five hundred thousand, which Molly Malone felt was a more correct figure. Both of which have been exceeded by—in my case at least—by more than doubled.

So, such was the climate in which we worked at that time, and there were two other items in that first term on which I would comment. One was that—and it was something unheard of to me—I didn't know what a gin mill was, as a matter of fact, and I thought it had something to do with the product that we used when I went to college, but I found that I was dead wrong, and that it was used in the cotton industry. And they had come up with a discovery in Pahrump in southern Nevada and more primarily in Clark County, and in parts of Nye County that they could raise long-branch cotton which was a real wonderful product, but they needed a gin mill. And the gin mill of course, was the mill, in which they processed the cotton. So we were able to secure the recognition of an allotment

of cotton for the state of Nevada, and for many years it was one of the major crops in that particular area of the state. Other areas of the state attempted to grow cotton with varying degrees of success. But in Pahrump it flourished and produced enough cotton to support a gin mill. This was the year when we jointly made a push for Squaw Valley as the Olympic site for the next Winter Olympics. It was a long, difficult battle. We enlisted the aid of state of Nevada officially and California made the equal push, and a result of that, we were successful in having the Winter Olympics [1960] at Squaw Valley. If I were to do it again, I don't know that I would be quite as vigorous in my advocacy of a Winter Olympics. It is a great thing publicity-wise, but financially, it simply never works out, and it cost the state of California a good many thousands of dollars. And it cost Nevada some amount of money; of course that might have been offset by the publicity which I believe generally was favorable for Squaw Valley and the Winter Olympics. That was another item that was before us in that opening session.

I received some comment after my being sworn in, of having my door into my office always open, and many of them or some of the, I should say—some of the newspaper reporters, of that area, commented that it was a great way to carry on an open door policy. I always persisted in that. We always had the door open, and people passing by, came in, some of real business, others just out of curiosity, because inherited from McCarran, was a solid bank of Indian pictures that covered one wall. They were given to him as I understand it, by the Santa Fe Railroad, which produced many colorful Indian pictures, and I kept them there, and upon my retirement I distributed them to my friends, and to some of the Indian people

who over the years had come into my office, and said, "I recognized my grandfather or great grandfather." In any event, that became quite a topic of conversation among the business community, and among the visitors that came into the office, both from Nevada and elsewhere around the country.

### COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

At the time that I went into the U.S. Senate, I asked for committee assignment—Pat McCarran, who I succeeded, was a member of the Judiciary Committee, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and very high in ranking with the Appropriations Committee. I requested three committees. I requested the same committees he had, namely Judiciary, thinking that my years of service as a lawyer, and as attorney general, would stand me in good stead toward advancing my cause as a member of the Judiciary Committee; and then on Appropriations Committee, because I think I readily recognized the committee that controls the purse is the committee that gets much done. And I knew from my own knowledge of Senator McCarran and his workings, particularly on the Appropriations Committee, that if he wanted a few extra thousand dollars for Nevada, it always helped that he was a member of the Appropriations Committee. If it wasn't put in on the floor, then he could always ask for it in committee. So I made an appeal for both of these committees.

I also made an appeal for the Interior Committee because I felt then, felt now, and have always felt that this was almost a specialized western committee taking care of the sixteen, seventeen I guess it is, western states that have reclamation and that therefore it was a highly important committee from the standpoint of reclamation and irrigation,

and from the standpoint of mining, from the standpoint of Indians, and from truly western-oriented projects, which are foreign to some of the other committees. So I also added that.

Now, I was successful in securing the appointment on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, and I did succeed, in lieu of my guest for a place on the Judiciary Committee—that is always a very much sought after committee—or on the Appropriations Committee, which most people, I think, look on as the number one committee from the standpoint of desirability, for the reason that I have stressed, is that controls the money, and money is such an important ingredient in our government activities, that many others seek it; and I was unsuccessful, in becoming a member of the Appropriations Committee or of the Judiciary Committee. I was successful, in lieu thereof, of becoming a member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, a committee that I served on for a number of years, until my opportunity came up to become a member of the Appropriations Committee. And I left the Commerce Committee with a great deal of reluctance because I enjoyed the work. That too is an important committee for this state because it had, among other things, the interstate activities, of which we have many, particularly in the trucking business, and in the railway business; and it is in charge of aviation, in which I immediately took up an interest, prompted a great deal, I am sure, by the fact that Senator McCarran was so active in aviation.

So I was a member of the aviation subcommittee and had I stayed on that committee I would have been the chairman of the full committee, just as my colleague, Senator Cannon, who succeeded me, is the chairman of that full committee now—a very important and very worthwhile committee.

Now, in lieu, or in addition to these two major committees, they also appointed me on the District of Columbia Committee, which I didn't seek, but which my predecessor Pat McCarran had been a member, and I was selected for it, though not by choice, but by necessity and later then was chairman for many, many years of the D.C. Committee, which gave me a firsthand working knowledge of the government—the government of that city. And it had its real reward, if there were rewards from being on the District of Columbia Committee, was the fact that through my membership on that committee, I controlled considerable patronage, and had the opportunity of placing deserving young Nevadans on judicial positions, and help them along in their education, and even afterwards.

One excellent example is a Reno boy, Fred McIntyre, born raised in Reno, who served on the District of Columbia Committee, and went from there to a position on the district bench as a judge and has served many, many years—very fine service—as a district judge, equivalent to a trial judge in the district court in the state of Nevada. And he still is on that bench after a good, good many years. So it had that type of reward and I think it is necessary to rather give anyone who has served on that committee, a few additional emoluments because it was arduous duty and you were in effect a member of the mayor and the city council of the District of Columbia. And I have told many of my mayor friends throughout the United States, that I have always felt that they have one of the most difficult of all jobs because they are right down where people can get ahold of you, day in and day out.

I found that out, even as a senator, being a chairman of a district committee in many of my experiences, where people would call me up in the middle of the night and raise

problems about the gathering of garbage, or the tact that their street was full of potholes, and wanted me to do something about it. And so I had a firsthand—and particularly in the school area, where people felt that the schools weren't doing everything they could or that they needed more teachers, or they needed more discipline—the same problems that come to any school board.

So I have the full flavor of that particular type of committee assignment. I was also, during that period of time, put on the Select Committee on Small Business (and a committee assignment that I kept throughout my senatorial career), and in my latter years became chairman of the Small Business committee—a very important committee because small business really did need additional help.

Those were pretty much the general committees of which I have been a member. I've had the same complaints I think everyone else has had, regardless of politics, in going to the United States Senate, and [that] is they quickly spread you too thin, to where you are on so many committees that you really couldn't do justice. You simply had so many instances, and all senators and to a lesser degree, all congressmen have the same problem, and that is they are spread too thin, which simply means that, in many instances, where you would have two meetings, or three meetings, even, of committees of which you were a member all scheduled for the same time. You quite obviously couldn't be in two or three places at the same time and you always resorted on sending one of your staff members to that committee to pinch hit for you. You simply chose the committee that you thought was the most important. And so that was a constantly recurring problem to which there never has been and I don't know that there ever will be a complete solution.

It was time consuming, because people are entitled to be heard. They come to Washington, entitled to have their day before the committee, and sometimes the hearings last many, many days, and sometimes, many many hours during each day. And, again, simply based upon my observation and own knowledge, I simply want to pay tribute to the senators and congressmen as a hard-working group. I realize that the polls of today show that they are held in low public esteem. I think that's unfortunate because I think on balance they are among the hardest working group of men, and women, who I have ever seen.

### THE ELECTION OF 1956

*Let's talk a little about the election of 1956. In early November, 1955, there was some speculation over whether you were going to run, and you said several times that twenty-one years was probably long enough in public life and that you wanted a law practice, to be free of what you called the hokum of politics.*

Did I call it that? Good for me [laughs]

*You said that your family was homesick, and late in November you said that you were retiring from politics in 1956; and right away Harvey Dickerson and Mahlon Brown announced that they were going to run. So what I'd like to know, then, is what happened between November and April.*

What a barn twister! The 1956 election was probably one of the most unusual that the state of Nevada has ever had, and it certainly was the most unusual Alan Bible has ever had. I've said many, many times—a funny way to run a campaign; this ought to be the example of how *not* to run it. After being elected to succeed Pat McCarran, in 1954, and having

moved to Washington, D.C. and started my tour as a u.s. senator, I was obviously quite disenchanted with the results, and a number of factors led to this. It was very difficult on my family: we had a nice home, we had friends, our children were growing up in Nevada, and obviously the move to them wasn't one that they would have done if they had been able to make their own choices. We had a very fine home in Washington; we sold our home here in Nevada, and moved back there, I honestly believe as I look back at it, with every intention of making it a complete career. But somewhere along the way a number of things came about that changed that, and I think that probably it was primarily due, as I think I said at the time I made the announcement that I was not going to run again, that I was somewhat disillusioned with the experiences that I was having within the U.S. Senate. (I shouldn't have felt that way because I had worked on the floor of the U.S. Senate.)

But anyway, this was the statement I made; because I was treated very well—I guess I was doing reasonably well—but for some reason I didn't seem to be satisfied with the progress, or headway that I was making. It certainly was true that my family was dissatisfied with the move. They were Westerners and they had their friends back in the western Nevada area, in Carson City and in Reno, and they were constantly wondering whether we were—constantly anxious to get back to Nevada—came home at every opportunity.

I suppose that all combined and added up to dissatisfaction or disillusionment with the Washington life and the desire to get back to the private practice of law and undoubtedly was what led to my decision. And I announced it, and I've always—it was one of the decisions that I've always greatly regretted for the simple reason that I said I was not going to run. Immediately after I made

that announcement other people entered the race: Harvey Dickerson announced that he was going to run for the U.S. Senate as the Democratic nominee; Mahlon Brown, of Las Vegas, announced that he was going to run; Jay Sourwine, who was working in the Judiciary Committee in Washington, also announced that he was going to file. Those three were the Democrats who said they were going to seek my seat, and seek the Democratic nomination.

On the Republican side, the Republicans were taking their strongest candidate, who was Cliff Young, then congressman from the state of Nevada—very able one—as the Republican congressman, announced that he would seek my seat. So all four of these men relied upon my statement that I was not going to run, and as I say, this has always been one of the decisions—not that I've regretted it on balance, but regretted the fact that I did mislead them, and that they got in and ran—had I stayed constant and not changed my mind the way I did and they certainly would not have been put to the trouble and the expense and trial that go with any type of election campaign.

I note in reading the January 1, 1955, *Nevada State Journal*, this item—it read as follows:

Senator Alan Bible's decision not to seek reelection came as a shock to a lot of people and particularly Democrats who had counted on him to win. His decision was a difficult one but close friends say they feel he was wise for his own health and future. His successor will be hard to find.

Now this was a characterization by the political writers of the *Journal* of that time.

And I think it does state, not only the actual facts, but the difficulty of making the decision. I don't believe I really had too much of a health problem at that time. Later on in my Senate career a health problem did develop. But that was just simply because of age more than anything else.

The decision to run—the decision to get back in the race was prompted by constant pressures brought on from a number of sources. Lyndon Johnson, [who] was the majority leader of the United States Senate, pointed out to me that it was my choice. If I wanted to retire from politics, that was my business, and he wasn't going to try to influence me. But—oh, he didn't do it directly and positively. I think he ran about as clever a campaign in changing my mind as any man I have ever seen because, though he didn't do it directly, he had his lieutenants hit me from every side. Pointing out, primarily the things that made more appeal to me, and which finally did cause me to change my mind, was the fact that the balance of the Senate was so close at that time—it was practically even-Steven, forty-eight to forty-seven, forty-eight to forty-five, total of ninety-six, was the total strength of the Senate during those periods of years—that my election would assure the Democratic control of the Senate. An election by the Republicans would assure the control of the Senate for the Republicans. And obviously, Lyndon Johnson (and I think he was acting in all sincerity and honesty)—he had a pretty large stake in that himself because he was majority leader, and with my not running, I think without being immodest about it, the chances of the Republicans winning would be better than if I was making a race of it. And this is particularly true because this is the year in which General Eisenhower was a very strong figure, a popular president; he was conceded to be the favorite, and he was

expected to carry the Republican senatorial nominee with him.

This later proved out to be pretty much true because in my own case, in the state of Nevada, the president of the United States, General Eisenhower, won the state by something like eighteen to twenty thousand votes. I was fortunate to run ahead of Cliff Young by almost five thousand votes. In other words, the Republicans won the presidency but they lost the U.S. Senate. And if I had not been persuaded to run for the office again, then control of the Senate—I honestly believe—would have switched to the Republicans. So there has never been any regrets; after having made the choice the only regret I have, one that I just repeat now, is that I did mislead the other men and I wouldn't ever begrudge them in feeling rather badly about it. I don't think any of them held it against me for too long, though I'd be frank to say that I can't imagine that they feel that I was any particular hero, and so I did win the primary by a very sizable majority over both Denver [Harvey] Dickerson and Mahlon Brown, and Jay Sourwine, so they really had no great complaint. I think if anybody would have a real complaint it would be Cliff Young, because he already had a fine position, was doing a fine job, as congressman from Nevada, as the Republican. He was the two-term congressman and had I not changed my mind, he would have been reelected. That conjecture, it's iffy, and I don't know it that's the way it would have worked out or not. It is ironic that Cliff Young and I were both born in Lovelock; we were both fraternity brothers; we've always been the best of friends. His mother and his father and my mother were schoolmates in Lovelock, so there is kind of a close relationship in that respect. So—but over the years he's never evidenced any outward feeling; inwardly if he does feel a little upset with me—even it it's stronger than that—I

wouldn't blame him at all. I did very honestly change my mind, and I got back in and that was the main reason that I got back in. There were terrific pressures put on—then once I had said I was going to run, then they supported me very handsomely, financially, and with their own support.

Lyndon Johnson, for example, came out to Ely, Nevada. Made a speech on my behalf, and actually used his Texas charm and Texas manner of campaigning, to pass his great big, white cowboy hat among the people who attended, and raised I think two hundred and fifty to three hundred dollars which he turned over to me. He embarrassed me to no end but nevertheless, in spite of my embarrassment, I kept the money, and used it in the campaign. In addition to that, Paul Butler, who was the national chairman, came on out and made speeches for me. They sent Bob Kerr, who was a powerhouse in the Senate, at that time—Democratic power house, had once run for president of the United States him self—came out and made an appearance for me in Lovelock, and they really exerted more pressure, raised more money than normally would have been true because of the balance of the Senate at that time.

Senator Symington came to the state as well, and finally I made a statement, saying that because of all of these things, I would accept the draft. And they went to work, and circulated petitions all over the state of Nevada, and far more enough to draft me to get my name on the ballot. And with that I said I would run again, and that if I did win this time, I would stay as long as the people wanted me, and I kept that latter pledge pretty well until I finally retired, primarily because of health problems that I had, and that's the history of the 1956 election. I won the election, just repeating—by something

like five thousand votes, in the election where Eisenhower carried the state on his second term, by something like eighteen thousand.

*Tell me some of the activities of Nevada Democrats, too, in exerting this pressure.*

Well, I think as far as the—I don't quite know what you mean by that because in '56 I think those—some of them would like to have me run, others—.

*The Democratic state convention apparently was a big fight. You were expected to head the delegation to the national convention. Farrel Seevers was elected, and this was analyzed as a sign of weakness on your part and of Mahlon Brown's strength.*

Oh, this was before the primary?

*Yes. The campaign was said to be financed that year by Biltz and Cord and Howard Hughes.*

Well, [laughs] I never got any money from Biltz and Cord and Hughes. I got money from Howard Hughes later on in my Senatorial career. Near as I know, I never received any money from Biltz and Cord. I may have. If Eva Adams was still with me, during that period of time, was she still with me?

Yes.

Well, she was still with me. She probably got some Cord money, and Biltz money, so I wouldn't doubt that that was right.

*After the primary, which you mentioned, Emery Graunke said that there ought to be a Senate investigation, that you had spent so*

*much money that it was really an abuse of the process.*

Yeah, he was an old college crony of mine. He passed on. It was too bad, he was a nice guy. I suppose he did say it—sounds like a correct political charge. But, I'm not going to dignify it by—.

*There were some others who came to the state: Kennedy, and Johnson, and Kefauver all were here, and Kefauver was running for vice president that year.*

Oh, oh. That's right. He ran with Adlai Stevenson, didn't he? He sure came here, and he was scared to death to come into Nevada because it was a gambling state. He was fighting gambling vigorously at that time, and he didn't want to be pictured around any gambling machines. Oh, he had a great time keeping away from it. I'd forgotten which campaign it was. But that's absolutely true. And Kennedy did come. I think he spoke at the Century Club. And that was on October 25, 1956.

*I just wanted to explore the election fight itself a little bit, if you feel like it.*

As it came out, I mean I ran—if you have your political history, it would show you, it would show how much I won in the primary, and it was overwhelming. Surprised me. I don't think I deserved that much after having said I wasn't going to run, and I think it really shocked both Mahlon Brown and Harvey Dickerson and Jay Sourwine. Of course, again repeating, I just felt very badly about that because they acted upon my assurance that I wasn't going to run, and then I got my arm twisted, by these various

emissaries, particularly of LBJ, and got back in the race.

But over the years, it didn't have much effect. Maybe, by way of guilty feelings, or something, I put Mahlon Brown, Jr. on my patronage. His father and Lucille, his mother, asked me if I would give him a job in Washington, and I said I would be glad to help him. And I was of the impression that he had finished UNR, and I didn't check it out closely enough. He was with me eight years, and under that fine patronage job, but his grades here at UNR—he's a present U.S. Attorney, you know—they weren't high enough to qualify him for law school in Washington. He finally came out going to Howard, which is the colored law school, and a very fine one. But he went to that, went to the undergraduate there, and he was with me for eight years, and Bill Morris, who is "Wildcat," and I think he was in the second spot, I think he was with me for seven years. I know the Browns got over the defeat. Harvey Dickerson I'm sure did. But he was perennially a candidate. He was always running, and his brother was with me for years—Denver. Denver was on my payroll for a good many years.

Jay Sourwine—I insisted with Jim Eastland that they keep him on Judiciary Committee, and he said he would. He came around and said, "Well, this is the fella who ran against you; if you want me to, I'll fire him." I said, "Nah, don't fire him. After all it was my fault that he quit the judiciary spot."

He's back in Reno now. He's a brilliant lawyer, brilliant lawyer. But he was no political figure. He just didn't have the personality; he kept him on my insistence in the Judiciary Committee. I know the three Democratic nominees—I have no problem with them. I'm sure that way down Cliff Young thinks,

"Well, that so and so." I don't blame him. Life turns out that way.

*What about election issues? I noticed in your campaign material that there was a lot of emphasis on the Tungsten Purchase Act that later became quite important.*

Well, I had a good record on that because we were able to get some money to keep it going, and I used that as one of the issues. No, I don't think I'll develop these. I think people will have forgotten that by now. I don't believe it was a big issue.

Like so many campaigns in Nevada, in these election campaigns even down to the date, it's just kind of a choice of personalities and not some hard and fast clash of, of political philosophies. In other words, Cliff Young would have been just as much for tungsten as I was because it supported miners and helped the economy.

I think about the only thing I would say about the 1956 election that I won by about five thousand votes, a little less—and I thought it was very gratifying because General Eisenhower won by eighteen—one a Republican and one a Democrat. I wouldn't carry it—I don't see any value in going into what Cliff Young may have said about me or I said about him, because I think we pretty much were in an agreement that after all in Nevada, he'd be for tungsten, I'd be for tungsten; he'd be for the development of natural resources, in the state; I was for development of natural resources; and we are all for developing more water, and he would be for the Washoe Project. So he was for it, and he carried the ball on the House side, and so I don't think there was any great conflict in the issues there. I really don't think there was.

During my change of heart and the final decision that I was going to run for the U.S. Senatorship from Nevada (notwithstanding the fact that I had indicated that I was not going to run, which has always been a sorely distressing decision; I've thought about it many, many times over the years), the great pressures that came on me from national Democratic leaders was primarily headed up by the majority leader, Lyndon Baines Johnson. We had become fast friends. He came out during my first campaign, back in 1954, and he spoke on my behalf. And of course, he was a dynamic man, a dynamic majority leader. I think he is generally credited with being the finest majority leader that this nation has ever had—at least, in this century. His record as president wasn't quite as outstanding because he got caught in the Vietnam problem, but that was another issue, and a different role. But as majority leader he had no equal.

But he was kind enough to me to come to the state to speak, first in the 1954 election in Las Vegas, and then in my 1956 campaign he came to Ely and made a speech on my behalf—not only made the speech, but went out and rallied support from the people who were there. It so happened that there was a very good crowd the time he was there. He attracted the crowd, I'm sure, and they had a good picture and a good exhibition of how a Texan politicks because he took out his cowboy hat, as I have previously said, and solicited money—I don't know the amount, two hundred and fifty or three hundred dollars. He got a rousing hand; he was a tall, rangy Texan. I was devoted to him. He was a man who, once he'd set his goal to get certain things done, he didn't rest until he had reached that goal.

He had a hard, driving personality. He had always been pictured as having gotten

into the U.S. Senate, I think they called him old "Landslide" Johnson, because I think he won by eighty-seven or eighty-nine votes. Something like that anyway, the first time that he ran for office from that state. But, he went on to reach tremendous heights as the leader of the U.S. Senate, and that leadership came about because of his great ability to capsulize the issues of the day—to dramatize them in his statements on the floor. He was never classified, or felt as a great orator, but he was a fine man-to-man operator in coming across in talking to you individually and urging you to take this position or that position.

Then he had a wife of tremendous skill and tremendous charm. A woman who as of this writing is still very active, and who makes friends wherever she goes, but there are so many stories that can be told about Lyndon Johnson. He was a man who came to Nevada, and I'm sure the reading of the papers of his appearances, either in the '54 election or the '56 (he was not then the President of the United States—in a lesser capacity in the congress of the United States, though an important role), would indicate that he was dynamic right from the word go. He looked and acted like we all kind of think a Texan should look and act. So that is the way I've always pictured him. We became fast, personal friends, in addition to the political rapport that we had.

Bob Kerr was another man, self-made man, who became a very devout, religious man, and he didn't drink, and he didn't smoke, and he was a driver. A powerful man, and a very close confidant of Lyndon Johnson's. I suppose he was about as close to him as anybody on the Senatorial level, with the exception of Dick Russell from Georgia, who I would classify or characterize as the number one confidant of Lyndon Johnson.

Estes Kefauver was a politically ambitious man from the state of Tennessee. He came out to the state; I believe he was running for [vice] president, at that time, and he was well received, with a little skepticism probably because he was conducting an investigation against gaming and gambling. He had problems with it, and it was particularly difficult for him to come into Nevada because wherever he went there were practically some evidence of a gaming establishment, and he wanted to avoid that as much as he could, because of his campaign for vice president, and I know, among other things, we asked him if he would make a statement about his feelings about gambling and he did. I don't know how far it was disseminated because there was a lot of criticism about bringing him into Nevada because they figured he was so—he'd spoken out against gambling, but he did make a states rights speech, which was very helpful. And he said that if the state of Nevada wanted to have gambling it was a state problem and they should speak out on it, if they wanted it, even though he had his own personal feelings. He wouldn't object to what the state of Nevada did, and so that somewhat softened the blow that many people feared. And he was very well received. He wasn't a dynamic speaker, but he was an interesting speaker, and 'course he had nationwide publicity, and this was the time when he was very famous for his coonskin cap. And I remember he ran the Las Vegas circuit; I had the privilege of introducing him. He made a fine talk and got a big hand, and he didn't put gambling out of business—he left [the] subject alone. He was out speaking for himself as vice president and putting in a plug for me.

The other man who came into the state and was a tremendous help then was John F. Kennedy, And I am rather proud of the fact

that I was chosen to introduce him to the Reno audience, which I did. On October 23, 1956, the paper says, "Kennedy was introduced by Senator Bible, who told the Democrats that he believed that the Massachusetts Senator would someday be president or vice president of the United States." And that was rather a prophetic prediction on my part. It was obvious that—of his popularity, particularly in this state, and at later it came true, and I've always felt proud of that. I had a close personal relationship with JFK. We were both seated in the back row of the U.S. Senate, one removed by Pat McNamara of Michigan, who sat between the two of us. So during those years of service with him, in the U.S. Senate, I became very well acquainted with him, and became a great admirer. We had a warm, warm friendship.

*What's your favorite Lyndon Johnson story? People who knew him well talk about his earthy humor.*

[Laughs] That is a little on the rugged side—it is usually a stag humor. I think the favorite expression at least that I remember Lyndon Johnson so well for was his statement the, "Come let us reason together." If he used that statement once, he used it five or six times every day. "Come let us reason together." He was a great man to try to take opposite, different viewpoints, and by persuasion and by compromise, wheeled out a final product. In other words, many times he couldn't take everything that he wanted, but when he couldn't get the whole loaf, he would take the half loaf. But, "Come let us reason together" I think would be the favorite expression that I remember from him. I know he had many stories about some of his earlier campaigns. Most of his stories were punctuated with rather strong language, which I would hesitate to repeat.

*What is your favorite story about Kennedy in the same way? He also had an interesting sense of humor and a kind of earthy way of expressing it.*

I can't remember a story on Kennedy. In fact, I don't remember any ABC stories from Lyndon Johnson; in fact most of the stories I remember are from the southern storytellers, like Alben Barkley, and some people like that. I don't remember a story from JFK. I remember one of his inaugural speeches where he captured the headlines by saying, "Don't ask what the country can do for you, but ask what you can do for your country." That was always a very, very famous byline of JFK's, just as the great byline in my judgment of FDR, who was one of the great speakers of our time, was that "You have nothing to fear except fear itself" Those are two statements—. I heard that when it was given in March 1933 or '4—'33, I guess, when he had just been inaugurated as the President of the United States, and we were in a depression, banks were failing, and it was a cold, dreary March day in Washington, and he captured the audience simply by those few words, "You have nothing to fear except fear itself." At that time it seemed to me that the nation through many of the acts of the first hundred days of FDR's first term, turned around and people did have more confidence and we regained a great deal of our economic stability.

#### **OFFICE ORGANIZATION AND PERSONNEL**

*How about now if we talk about the organization of the office?*

After my reelection in 1956, and after a declaration I had made I would serve then as long as the people in the state of Nevada desired, my health permitting, I settled down

to be more of Nevada senator than I had in that short interim two years, which I had just completed.

I had a comparatively small staff, and it maintained comparatively small throughout my senatorial career. The immediate person under me was my administrative assistant, and during my entire senatorial I only had two. I was fortunate to have had the benefit of the vast experience, know-how and expertise of Senator Pat McCarran's administrative assistant, Eva Adams. Eva and I were classmates at the University of Nevada, so she was no stranger to me. As a matter of fact, we worked together on the University of Nevada *Sagebrush* during my college days. She was truly a very brilliant woman. She worked for many years for Pat McCarran—was with him when he served his last term of office before [he] dropped dead of a heart attack at Hawthorne, Nevada.

I retained her as my administrative assistant, and she was the top person in my office. Immediately under her I had a legislative assistant, and then I also always had a public relations man who was always, during my tenure, at least, a newspaper man and from Nevada. When I first started out, and shortly after my reelection in 1956, I persuaded Jack Carpenter, who was a co-partner with Walter Cox in Yerington, Nevada, to come forth with me as a public relations man and as a newspaper man. And he came with me in nineteen hundred and fifty-six. His responsibilities were public relations and developing news stories, and later on as it was more and more useful media to project yourself back to your people, wrote my script, helped write my script, at least, for radio and TV, of which we made rather broad and increasing use.

Jack told me that he was only wanting to stay one term with me and after that he would

leave. He was with me—ended up being with me eighteen years and still remained in Washington, D.C.; he is still there. First, when I retired voluntarily, pursuant to my suggestion to our newly elected congressman, James Santini, he went to James Santini and served as his right-hand man and as the administrative assistant for the congressman. He stayed with Congressman Santini for the full two years, then told him he wanted to retire and started to retire when the American Mining Congress, knowing his abilities, and having had many dealings with him, offered him a very, very attractive job as a lobbyist for the American Mining Congress.

So Jack Carpenter, who vowed to stay there just a short four or five or six years, is still in Washington, D.C. really stricken with what we named over the years, the "Potomac fever," and I think that he has such a bad case of it now that he will run out his remaining days right in Washington, D.C. He's a born newspaper man, a man with great ability, and the American Mining Congress recognized that, and kept him on, giving him a very attractive salary; he has served them very well—is still serving them, and I'm sure he will continue to do so, and for many years to come.

That was the public relations and newspaper person, and in addition to that I always had a legislative assistant who assisted me in the looking up of the law, on briefing the cases that were on the floor, and the bills that were on the floor, and for many, many years, that man was Owen Malone, a graduate of Georgetown Law School, as I was, and he served me very well in that particular capacity. Under him he had an assistant, and then we had the usual fine secretarial help. The total number of people varied somewhere between ten and fourteen, including secretarial help.

After my election in 1956, I guess, as part of my recognition of the growing power of

Clark County, I indicated that I was going to open a full-time office in Las Vegas. Recognizing (I think I had to recognize) their growing political influence, and without Clark County some of my elections would have been a lot closer, and maybe I wouldn't have been elected, for they have always supported me very heavily in southern Nevada and Clark County. So in recognition of that factor, I opened the Las Vegas office to supplement the office that I normally had in Reno. It was a one-man office in each event, in each case, in Reno, and in Las Vegas. And that was figured in my total complement of, as I say, somewhere between ten and fourteen assistants.

I always thought that was sufficient to take care of my needs, the needs of the people in the state Nevada, and in order to enable me to be a good United States Senator, had really no need for additional help because the committees of which I was a member already had adequate staff support, and at that time when we moved in '56 my committees were the Commerce Committee; the Interior Committee; the District of Columbia Committee, which is a story in itself; a Small Business Committee, which I later became chairman; and the Aging Committee. So that was my full complement of committees, and I held two of those most of the years, except in nineteen hundred and fifty-eight, I believe it was, when early in my senatorial career, the opportunity came to me to leave the Commerce Committee (and I was a member of the aviation subcommittee of the Commerce Committee), and go to the Appropriations Committee.

That was always my first wish as a committee assignment because I reasoned that if you were on the committee that had the money, you could always get a few extra dollars for your own state, which was simply good politics, plus the fact it assisted your

state a great deal. So I think it was in 1958 that I gave up the Commerce Committee and went on the Appropriations Committee. I was a member of the aviation subcommittee. If I had stayed on that committee, I would have been the chairman, but as I say I went to the money committee.

In the meantime, my long-time colleague, Howard Cannon, was elected to the United States Senate, and he succeeded to my former place on the [Commerce] Committee. He was immediately put on the aviation subcommittee, as I was, and he took my place on that committee. He was well equipped to serve in my place because he was a skilled jet pilot in his own right, and he went from committee member to chairmanship of that committee, and then just very recently became the chairman of the full committee, which is a very, very powerful and very important committee.

So it gave us a fine balance in the United States Senate, as I saw it. With Senator Cannon on the Commerce Committee, and I was on the Interior Committee and on the Appropriations Committee. Senator Cannon, likewise, was on the Armed Services Committee and the Commerce Committee. In both posts, which he served with great distinction, [he] was well qualified. He had a very brilliant military career, and a very fine record as a pilot and a flyer during World War II. So, that complemented our Senatorial committees, and I thought, balanced them out very well.

I always made it a practice to secure the very best assistants I could, and I always paid the top salaries. When I first started the salaries weren't anything particularly to write home about, but they graded them up, and later they became very attractive. Of course, I suppose with inflation and all of the rest of the complications of living in a world full of high prices, maybe our earlier salaries went

even further than the salaries that we finally ended up with, even though they were very high. I think the top people were being paid something around fifty or sixty thousand dollars when I left, and that does sound like a terrific sum of money to be paid, but I believe other than Reno and Las Vegas, Washington, D.C. is the highest cost area in the entire United States. You can't save any money on those figures, as strange as it seems.

By the time you've paid your income tax, and your other required expenses, there's never very much left. And, of course, that is really unfortunate, because I think you have to have the most capable people you can get, and it's very difficult to obtain top-notch people, even though you pay them very well; at fifty or fifty-five thousand dollars, private industry is so, so geared that it can—it isn't prohibited, doesn't have limitations on, as they do in the public sector, and so sometimes they come out with the superior people. Many people are dedicated to public service, and they're the ones who have made the greatest contributions. So, that's the organizational setup, as I saw it, and I practiced it.

Now, recognizing, as I said, the increasing importance of Clark County, we gave them, or attempted to give them increased service by establishing an office there, and I think it served a dual purpose just as the Reno office served a dual purpose. Primarily, it was there to be of help and assistance to your constituents, and to the people who lived in the area, but it also was a wonderful listening post for yourself, because if people were either praising you or finding fault with you, you got a rather instantaneous—a rather quick report from your field people, of what they were saying about in Reno and Las Vegas, and in the general areas.

Now many people queried me as to why we didn't have additional offices in Elko, for

example, or Ely, or maybe in Tonopah, in the central part of the state, and of course, the real answer was that there just weren't the problems cropping up there that there were in the two major population centers. And when you consider that, I believe as of today, eighty-six, or eighty-seven, or eighty-eight percent of the population of Nevada is in the two counties, in Clark and in Washoe, and in their two largest cities, Reno and Las Vegas, then that gives you the maximum coverage. So that was the manner in which we set up our organizational setup for the state of Nevada. And that over the years, I think, worked out rather well.

#### LEGISLATION AND COMMITTEE WORK

During that period immediately after 1956, among the most important bills that I saw, some with nationwide importance, some with just local importance, I classified the assessment suspension bill on mining as one of tremendous importance, not only to Nevada but to all mining states. That was brought about, more or less, as the aftermath of our war efforts growing out of the Second World War. The difficulty of getting labor and of the difficulty of the mining industry in large was having, particularly the small miners' inability to meet the rather strict financial requirements doing assessment work year after year. So that, to the mining industry, it was one bill of tremendous importance.

Now in 1958 we eliminated taxes on amusements, because that was a "war baby" tax and again, Nevada being the tourist state that it is, a state that has prospered by having gambling, and by having many tourist attractions, I thought it was of tremendous importance. It was in that same period of time, because of my membership on the aviation subcommittee of the Commerce Committee,

we managed to secure certification of the so-called local service carriers, and that was of tremendous importance to our largest local service carrier, Bonanza Airlines. They performed as pioneers one of the great services in this state in providing air service between Las Vegas and Reno.

President of Bonanza Airlines was a man by the name of Ed Converse. If my memory is correct, before he became involved in Nevada, he was formerly with Styles Bridges, who is one of the leading Republicans, of the state of New Hampshire, and a minority leader, I think at one time, in the Congress of the United States; and Ed Converse had worked with him; and was one of his assistants, and I believe his top man for a long time.

He came into the state of Nevada and organized the Bonanza Airlines, and he was their president, and I guess their principal owner. So I got to know him extremely well. He was a very strong Republican. I was a Democrat. He served, I believe as national committeeman of the Republican party for a number of years, and of course, I had no doubt of how he stood politically. I tried my best to dismiss that from my mind, and give him and his airline the type of service that they were entitled to. It was to my interest frankly, to do it that way, because it was of great benefit to Nevada.

It was a service line that opened up the Reno-Las Vegas area, as no other means of transportation would do, and over the years he performed very, very fine service. Undoubtedly he profited by it, but I think he was entitled to that.

My personal relations with him were always very good. I have no doubt that he had other candidates besides me, but I didn't let that interfere with my attempting to help him do something that in the long run was a great and ultimate benefit to the state of

Nevada. Frankly, I inquired not too long ago as to Ed Converse, because one of the areas in which I had a violent disagreement with him, was when he transferred and ordered all of his employees to leave Las Vegas and go to Phoenix where he made his base of operations for the Bonanza Airline. I thought after all Nevada had done for him, all that the congressional group—and I wasn't alone in that, others supported him as well—that the least he could have done was stay on in Las Vegas, for a period of time, or maybe as long as he had an airline that based out of Las Vegas.

His operation grew, and his airline grew; of course it was ultimately taken over by Hughes, and there were court problems in connection with it. On balance, I thought he did an excellent job for the state of Nevada. I think he was wrong in moving from Las Vegas. I'll always think that. But I suppose he thinks otherwise. I've had no contact with him whatever in recent years, but in earlier years, I had many, many contacts. And whatever our political differences, and we were politically different, I hope I didn't let it interfere with my trying to be of help to him in giving Nevada a needed service.

And of course that's always a problem. There are many other problems where people whom I know or are politically for me, or were not attuned in that direction, ask for help and I've always tried to develop the practice of kinda turning the other cheek and trying to help them—if it's for their, not only their benefit, but for the benefit of others who operate the state of Nevada. I must admit that's sometimes a little difficult to, [chuckles] but I think that's your duty, and I've tried to follow it. I suppose there are instances where I haven't followed it, but I developed a creed a long, long time ago that I picked up in my earliest days in Virginia City when I first started practicing

law, and I joined a lodge, which had as its motto, "If I can't speak well of a person, I will not speak ill of him." In other words, if I can't say a good thing about a person, I'll keep my mouth closed. I've always tried to follow that rule. It's just like, "Do unto others as you'd have them do unto you." It has always served as my guiding light. I suppose there's times when I haven't followed it, but most of the time, I've tried at least to overlook some of the political problems that arise out of any campaign. Because campaigns can be very bitter.

In the earlier days, at the start, they [Bonanza Airlines] also served Hawthorne, Tonopah, arid then on into Las Vegas. After being established, and the line not being used as much [as] they hoped it would be, had to be, in order to make it economically sound investment, they abandoned some of the intermediate lines; but from the time they were certificated, back in nineteen hundred and fifty-seven or fifty-eight, they had given daily service, and sometimes increased their service, between Las Vegas and Reno, and are still in active service. So I felt that was a real plus, and an accomplishment of which I have always been extremely proud.

I took a leading role in attempting to bring Alaska into the sisterhood of states. Alaska and Nevada were not totally unalike in their entry into the Union. Nevada was admitted into the Union in 1864 as a state with a very meager population and a population that didn't qualify under most of the standards that had been previously set for admission to the Union. It was admitted, really, for two primary purposes, I think, for two primary reasons: one was that gold and silver from the Comstock Lode and its tremendous mineral resources; and secondly, that Abraham Lincoln was very anxious to have two friendly Senators from a state that was for the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments.

This was accomplished, and those reasons were very strong in bringing Nevada into the Union. Alaska was the smallest territory in the complex. It was one that many people felt did not have the number of people that should have been present when you're admitted into sisterhood of states, but I felt it was entitled to statehood. It had been a territory. I thought it was entitled to more recognition and took a rather strong and leading part in the fight to bring it in to the sisterhood of states. And it was admitted on July 1, 1958. At least the bill was passed [in] the Senate, I should clarify that, on that day and it later was enacted into law and became our forty-ninth state, to be followed subsequently by the state of Hawaii, which was also a territory.

But, that was as I say, in repetition, a situation that closely paralleled our own admission into the Union, even though a hundred years apart. So that I would class as one of the real achievements in those early Senatorial days.

Likewise, during that period of time, I took a leading role, because I was on the District of Columbia Committee, in bringing home rule to the District of Columbia. The District of Columbia had more than enough people to qualify for being brought in as a state actually, but it was set up as a federal city, under the Constitution, and remained that way until, right until today, but it did—and people were reluctant to even give them limited home rule. But the city of Washington today does have limited home rule, not complete home rule, because there is always such a strong federal interest that it is very difficult to found it as anything more than a federal city. But home rule was enacted, and since I was on the District of Columbia Committee, I took a leading role, and one of which I've always been proud. It's always been a controversial issue. Today I

think they have proven their ability to govern themselves.

Of course, the real problem in the District of Columbia was the fact that it was so heavily Black. The colored population of the South, the Negroes from the South came into Washington, D.C. in ever growing numbers, and there were many of the early settlers there, the early founders, the early pioneers, that feared that if there were too many Black people, they would lose control. They have had the benefit of, of a Black mayor, Mayor Washington, who was a Black man, one of the ablest men I've ever worked with, and he served long and well as the mayor of the District of Columbia. And I think made great strides in breaking down that feeling. It's still there; one cannot deny that. But I think it has been lessened, ameliorated, and has worked out there as it has in other of the great cities of the United States where colored mayors are becoming more and more popular because of the great number of colored people who live in the cities. Los Angeles has Mayor Bradley, as of today, is another good example, and I think he's proven himself as a very able mayor. I think the same thing as the District of Columbia.

One of the recurring problems during these early years of my service to the state, in federal level, was the flood control problems. We had that, we had it in Las Vegas, we had [it] in Reno, we had it, believe it or not, in Ely, and legislation was passed to take care of so many problems. We passed what I thought was an excellent flood control bill for Clark County, and for Las Vegas. It became subject to ratification by the people of the area. Unfortunately, at that time, and I don't think even today, it's been ratified so as to bring flood control that was needed. And subdivisions have been built where subdivisions shouldn't have been built. And there were flood control

problems on recurring periods of time, and I think that is something that people of Clark County should have ratified and I hope that would materialize, even at this late date. As much as Clark County has grown and prospered and spread out all over that county, flood control is a big preventative from the tremendous damages that are incurred when raging waters come sweeping through many of the canyons. I would hope that would be enacted, even though it is at a later date.

During this particular period of time, one of the great concerns was to attempt to create a national park in White Pine County and in the Great Basin area. I think a case can be made now, and I think a case could be made then, that the Great Basin area and Wheeler Peak were of enough national significance to be typical of that particular law of the Great Basin area of America, and we were successful in passing a bill through the United States Senate on two different occasions. There was opposition from mining interests and from livestock interests. My long-time and good friend, who has since passed on to his reward, Walter Baring, congressman from Nevada, was charged with the responsibility in the House side, and he took the view, that instead of having a national park, it should be developed by the Forest Service. And so we were never successful during the period of time that I was there in creating a national park.

But I must say, as I've looked at the area after the Forest Service has developed it more and more under theory of multiple use that they've done a reasonably good job of it. It was my thought that it always tied in with the Lehman Caves which are very close to Wheeler Peak, not too far out of Ely, Nevada, that the two complemented each other, and here is an area of some great caves, that really rival Carlsbad, rival the Mammoth, in my judgment, and they've been developed by

the Park Service and have had increasing visitation.

It's true that the area is somewhat isolated, several miles from Ely, which really is its closest city, but as time goes along, people have more leisure and they do like to look for park areas, recreation areas, and I think both Lehman and Wheeler Peak met that criteria. But this is an area that was just never enacted into law as a national park. And whether it will be in the future or not remains to be seen.

It was during these early years, that it was called to my attention that Lake Mead was a great, great national attraction. There our success was a good deal greater, and we carved out Lake Mead National Recreation Area, which embraces all of Lake Mead, a good part of the Colorado River down as far as Glen Canyon, and up the Grand Canyon to the north. At that time, as I recall it, we made a strong case that the annual visitation was something in the neighborhood of three or three and one half million; today it ranges somewhere in the neighborhood of seven to eight million people per year visiting the Lake Mead Recreation Area.

It's a great area. It's a beautiful, naturally man-made lake back of Boulder Dam (in Hoover Dam, more properly) and for water skiers, fishermen, and people who like to swim, or just plain relaxing, and hiking; it is great, it's as beautiful an area as one would ever find. I personally never have tired of fishing for—primarily for bass above the dam, primarily for trout below the dam. It is one of our great and attractive areas. And that is a national monument today and one that has proven its worth as the years have gone by.

Another one of the projects which I was greatly interested in in those earlier years, and remain interested in actually right up to date, during all my Senatorial career, and my present private life, and that was cloud

seeding. I took a great interest in that, and here in the drought-stricken West, and certainly in certain areas of Nevada, it appeared to me that it had great possibilities. The Desert Research Institute has done much work on it, and it has in general proven up very, very well.

Another project worthy of comment was the desalination project, which was simply a project to take the salt of the ocean, and by various processes, develop it into usable, potable water. And I spent much time on that, and hoping to create, to increase our source of water for the state of Nevada. That has had its ups and downs, but I still think it has some great promise.

Another project in which I took great interest, and it was primarily called to my attention by one of my closest and dearest friends, and a man whom I've always called my political sponsor (that was Joe McDonald, Sr., a long-time Nevadan, graduated from the University of Nevada, long-time editor of *Nevada State Journal*), and it was hope and desire and wish that there be a Coast Guard Station at Lake Tahoe, and those people who knew Joe McDonald, knew that once he had an idea, and if he believed it had merit, that he never let it go until it was accomplished. And this was certainly true in his long-time fight for Coast Guard at Lake Tahoe. And I am happy to say I introduced the legislation, and secured the appropriated funds to create that, and there is a Coast Guard Station at Lake Tahoe today, and I think it's proven that Joe McDonald's dreams and his desires were of the highest order, and he was correct and right in pushing for that Coast Guard Station. It's really a memorial to him, and I don't even know, frankly, what its name is today, but if it ever is up to be properly named, it should be named Joe McDonald, Sr. Coast Guard Station at Lake Tahoe. I don't know, frankly, whether it has a name on it or not. I should

know; I guess I should ask one of his sons, I don't know.

There were the other usual problems that come up and during my period of time, Nevada growing as it was, it did, the need was very apparent that we needed a second federal judge. Legislation was introduced and today there is a second full-time federal judge, and probably even a crying need for maybe more judicial manpower. I was happy to be instrumental in the nomination and later confirmation of Judge Bruce Thompson, who served with such able and great distinction over many years and has just very recently retired. Also of Roger [T.] Foley, Jr., who is the present sitting judge in the Federal Court in Las Vegas. So those judgeships were nailed down.

I was active in advancing the name of Judge William Orr who was a supreme court justice, to be on the Circuit Court of Appeals, and he served long and well. He was followed by Charlie Merrill, a Reno lawyer who gave Nevada representation on the U.S. Circuit of Appeals. And I was likewise happy to be able to sponsor Charlie Merrill, an outstanding lawyer and proved of great assistance in his Court of Appeals work. He also has since retired, and just recently, though it was after my time in Washington, they nominated and confirmed Proc Hug [Procter Hug, Jr.], a tremendously able Reno lawyer, as judge on the Circuit Court Appeals. So that that tradition of keeping a Nevadan on the Circuit Court of Appeals has persisted, and has been recognized, and is in existence today.

*Would you like to discuss the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, which we haven't gone into at all?*

The Wild and Scenic Rivers Act came forward under the Interior Committee and was an attempt to save sections of some very

very beautiful rivers before they tell victim of complete subdivision and development, and to factories and things of that kind. I spent much time on that. I think we've made some headway on it. There were certain rivers that—the Connecticut River, for example; and the eastern part of that state had just been so developed that it was just impossible to create a scenic river in that particular area. There were areas, for example in the Ozarks—there was the Green River, through some beautiful country that had not been overdeveloped. And so we were able to save that. And it was, I think, an effort very well taken.

The Golden Eagle program was a program that gave to the—primarily it was designed to give to those in the elderly group who wanted to tour and go into the various parks—it gave them the opportunity of going in and visiting parks at a very minimal charge, which as a matter of fact, maybe today it is without any charge as long as they qualify by way of age. I think we started out at sixty-five, and I think it is now sixty-two; I'm not positive on a lot of these things because legislation does change and is amended. But it was originally designed to take care of our citizenry over sixty-five years of age. A very, very popular bill.

There were various tax reforms. A bill that came up primarily in wiping out the nuisance taxes, the wartime taxes. In this state to work out a rebate of taxes on slot machines for example, which gave to the state of Nevada additional monies that were pledged primarily to educational purposes. We have a long—an almost continuing fight over the silver dollar: first to try to retain it; then it immediately became apparent that silver had far greater uses in the trades and in photography, in the industries, and in just plain old silverware—and I don't say that disparagingly because every young bride likes a set of silverware, and we always encounter opposition from New

England merchants who are the manufacturers of silverware. But that has been a somewhat losing fight over the years because first we managed to retain the silver dollar; then it was weakened; then it was further weakened; and then it finally came out you wouldn't recognize the so-called silver dollar today, because I don't know what percentage of silver, if any that it has in it, but it has very little.

So all of that has changed and the "cartwheel" used to be Nevada's symbol, and we retained it for as long as we could, but greater uses, but greater demands, as I say, from industry and the arts and the crafts soon made its use as a coin almost extinct. And today the paper dollars have taken place of the silver dollars, and I doubt if they will return.

I was a pioneer and a leader in the eighteen-year-old vote for Washington, D.C. I felt the eighteen-year-olds were qualified to vote. It is often said that if you are old enough to fight, you are old enough to vote. I don't know—it's an arbitrary figure. There were many states that served as precedent that did permit their electorate to vote at the age of eighteen. I was happy to, not only sponsor that bill, but to take a lead in having it passed in the Congress of the United States.

So those are just a few of the bills of legislation in which I took a considerable pride. I was always interested in solar energy; introduced the first bill many years ago and it has since been re-introduced and finally with the energy crunch of today, I think it is receiving attention that it should receive.

Another activity from which I had great satisfaction was being appointed on many different phases of the military academies of the United States. I secured that not because of any great expertise on my own on military affairs, but because I was a member of the Appropriations Committee. And of course,

the men in the Navy and the men in the Army and the men in the Air Force, always paid particular attention to members of the Appropriations Committee for the very obvious reason that they knew that if they could prove their case, their need for more weapons and research in the proving of their methods of warfare, that they had to do it through the Appropriations Committee. So, simply because of my membership there, I served at various periods of time as a member of the Board of Visitors at the Air Force Academy in Colorado.

It was always a tremendous experience because the military strength of our nation, it seemed to me, was something that always had to be the first requirement of our government, and I always supported a strong military. I voted regularly for it. There certainly were others who felt that we spent too much money on the military, but the world in which we lived during my period of twenty years in Washington made me feel we had to keep strong at all periods of time, and I hope that will never die. The situation is just around the corner where we'll soon have the SALT treaty up for ratification, or rejection, as the case may be, and USSR I feel is one that we always have to view with alarm, and govern yourself accordingly, keeping yourself just as strong [as] you can, and so my period of service during that period of time was of great interest.

Another area in which I took great pride, which is highly controversial right today, was the use of the atom. The many hundreds of millions of dollars that were spent in the isolated areas of Mercury and Jackass flats on testing the first of the atmospheric testing of atom bombs, and then the underground testing. And the problem and the concern is raging today over the fallout areas particularly as it drifted east, and fell, undoubtedly on St. George. And so I spent many years on the

Atomic Energy Commission, spent much time in Nevada in viewing the tests. We were always assured that they were safe. Dr. Teller, who is very much in the news today, was one of the scientists who felt that they were safe. And of course, you are dealing with an awful lot of the unknown.

This will be a raging controversy and subject for many, many years down the road. The appalling, the alarming problem about all of the atom testing is the fact that you just don't know that there is any way to completely determine that until some future date. But there will be much more heard about this; there is law suits being filed, and I don't know how authoritative and how finalized this can be made. It is just the very nature of the problem, but in repetition, until those future years come about, you don't know what ultimate effects some of this fallout may have had.

But I spent many years—I relied, because I didn't have the expertise or the knowledge to know exactly what might happen in the future, relied on scientists and men of I'm sure good will, and men well-intentioned—the ultimate effects. But that was something that came about, and came about primarily because we had determined to study this as carefully as we could, and the Atomic Energy Commission, of which I was a later member—not the Commission, devoted much time and effort and used the best testimony they could get to resolve the problem.

It is interesting to me that at one time, this was classed as the most powerful of all of the Senatorial committees—the Joint Atomic Energy Committee—for the simple reason that it was composed of an equal number of congressmen and an equal number of Senators, who met jointly and who had the power, given to them by statute, to write laws governing the atomic energy. And in writing

those laws, they wrote them almost with unanimity of that committee.

As to developing the atomic energy power, first for the wartime uses, because that is how it came into being, and we all remember the effects in World War II that came about on the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by President Harry Truman's orders, and the devastation that caused—loss in money and lives, that that cost. It's almost impossible to realize the devastating effect of the explosion of the atomic bomb. But we also concede that it had many, many great peacetime uses, and this is shown in the generation of electric power, which again, right at this very time is in much debate. The explosion at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania brings it into focus, and all nuclear power, even for peacetime uses, is on trial right at this period. I've supported nuclear power. I think it is one of the great sources of creating power, but there are many skeptics and doubters. And there will be many, many thousands of words of testimony given both pro and con before this is finally resolved.

I assume that those whom I had my contacts, those who testified year after year before the joint committee as to its safety were correct. I hope that my assumption was right, and that again, will be discussed for many, many days to come. To me it was of some interest (this has happened since I retired)—the U.S. Senate just very recently—within the last year—abolished the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and broke it into three different parts, and gave it to three different individual Senate and House committees.

Now this is never the way that it was originally set up. And whether that is a wise move or not a wise move, again, time alone will tell. But it is something that occurs to me as one of the things that happened during that period of time when I served in Washington, D.C.

## THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

*I was wondering if you might talk a little bit more about the legislative process, not the debates on the floor, but the cloakroom conversation, the subcommittee meetings that are never open—.*

Well, so much of that has changed just in the last couple of years, actually, because of the—practically every committee now is open, even for mark-ups. Mark-ups are really where the actual work of putting a bill together is done, and it used to be done in an executive session, and until about—oh, I don't know the exact year—but in the later parts of my senatorial career, which went over twenty years, I would say in about my sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth years of service in the Interior Committee, for example, the executive sessions were open to everybody, and when that was first announced, there was some fear, some consternation that we would just be flooded by everybody coming in seeing how we mark-upped a bill.

But, at first the mark-ups were extremely well-attended; everybody was in there out of curiosity, I think, and then after a while the only people who showed were a few lobbyists.

But we mark-upped right to the last dotted *i* and crossed *t*, right out in front of God and everybody. Even during the period of time that I was there.

Now that's taken away a tremendous lot of this back-room planning, conniving, whatever you want to call it, because in the final analysis, when they mark-up a bill, which goes to the floor, that has been done in front of everybody. Now of course, that is not to say that when you get over on the floor, somebody might come in and say, "Well, Bible, how about putting this in for me?" Or

you go to somebody, and ask them to put something in for you by way of amendment. But even that is out in the open, so today you've taken away practically all of that feeling of somebody always slipping a little something in when you weren't looking, see. It really changed it, and of course, I think, oh, probably it could still be done to a limited degree, but I'm very happy to run down just a little of what happens to a bill, and how we dealt with it.

[Revision and extension's] a great congressional gimmick, particularly in the House of Representatives. They extend their remarks and that's when they really edit it up you know, and over on our side they always let you see what you've done and what you've said on the floor before they reproduce it in the Congressional Record. And of course, the press has been very critical of that because it doesn't honestly reflect what happens down on that floor. But, you can get some of those Senators (I never had that failing because I think it is a failing, of getting mad and standing up and "that dirty so and so"), particularly in the cool of the evening, they get a little additional support from the few drinks they had and then they will come a-storming on that floor; something will hit them or touch them off and boy, away they go: And they say a lot of things that nobody should ever say, and then they get their legislative assistant to go over and get—and the reporters, God love 'em, they write it the way you say it. Sure. And then the of tending Senator will go over and have the legislative assistant edit it, and clean it up, as they call it, clean it up and boy, oh boy, there is no resemblance at all to what they've said on the floor And you get lots of examples of that. That's one thing that they're going to run into

now that they've—that they're—Tip O'Neill said the other day that now they're opening up all sessions to television, the House of Representatives—always. Oh, it will be a nightmare; you just wait and see—there will be four hundred and thirty-five congressmen talking all over the lot.

*Well, the things that are not on the record, are the things that are of interest to historians. I'm thinking about the informal kinds of conversations that you're likely to have on a bill that is of particular interest to you or to your constituents, and how you go about planning it and getting it through.*

Over the years I've maybe—[I] didn't follow the practice of this in the first part of my career, but I certainly did after a year or two or three years experience. The bill—and I won't go through the actual mechanical part, but I think they are very well known, and it's pretty well disseminated in various studies made of the legislative process, but sometimes there are things that aren't written up, and as a matter of record. Now, one of the areas that was always of great concern to me and one on which I developed a policy is that a bill was introduced and everybody was given the opportunity to be heard. One thing that I required and did almost without fail, particularly in later years I followed very faithfully, is that I just refused to sit down and talk to people about a bill in which they had an interest, because I always said, "Well, you've had your day in court, you can come in there and tell your story.

"Yeah, but we don't want to do it that way. We want to come in and give you our version of it, and tell you why we think this particular bill should be abandoned, or should be passed, or should be killed."

I said, "Well you're going to say that in front of everybody."

Now, probably the worst offender that I ran into on my years of conducting many, many hearings and in the various committees in which I served, was the government witnesses themselves. They would... come in and after they had made their case in, on record, and in a regular hearing, they would say, "Well, now we testified to this, or that or the other thing, but we would like to tell you this and confidentially; we're doing this only because we're required to do so by the order of that has come down from the department.

Now, every once in a while you'd run into that type of a problem, and so I just developed a complete policy that I refused to hear them except in open hearings where what they said was of record and there was no variance. And I followed that very religiously. I suppose I have not followed it in earlier parts of my career, but it seemed to me that it was the only fair way to do it. But I would be misleading people if I were to tell them that you didn't have pleas made to you, if you didn't have representations made to you by either government witnesses or private witnesses, mainly by government witnesses, to do certain things. And so I finally developed the policy of just having them all on the full open hearing.

Now that is a development that has come about in recent years. A development with which I completely agree, and of course I think we've made progress in that particular field. There are still those who would want to talk with me confidentially, and tell you privately something that they wouldn't dare put on the record. And I am sure that will happen as long as there is man.

I had occasion to make a speech just a few nights ago and I recalled an incident about my name. It is a story I've told many times, I've always taken a kind of fancy to it, and I told

the story the other night, that President Harry Truman campaigned through Nevada, oh, forget which—I think he was running for the presidency, in his second term. This occurred, as I remember at Imlay, Nevada, which was then a division point for the railroad, and a group of us went out to pay our respects to the president, and I was introduced to Harry Truman by my sponsor, and long-time friend, Pat McCarran, and he says, he called him by first name because he served with him in the U.S. Senate, and he said, "Harry, I want you to meet one of my proteges, a young lad who worked for me on the floor of the Senate, and his name is Alan Bible (B-i-b-l-e)."

Harry Truman looked at me, and never flinched one bit, and said, "Bible, Bible—." He says, "You know, that's the best damn political name I ever heard." And I think that's probably true. That is a good political name.

I can recall another incidence, since I've started on this trend of thought, that somewhat illustrates that. In Las Vegas, which always gave me a terrific vote (with one exception, and I've commented on that, they always gave me terrific vote), and of course, in Las Vegas and even more distinctive at this particular time in my campaign, there is a Westside in Las Vegas, which is the colored area, and they have many, many churches there, and very many fine Black ministers, and I was always invited to come by and make an address. They always expected you to recognize that they had to put on new steeples, or maybe repair the roof; you were expected to give them a contribution, which I always did rather regularly. And on my own I was, I think, a middle-of-the-roader in general over my senatorial career, and I certainly wasn't a liberal, and my record on some civil rights issues probably wasn't what they thought it should be, but being—again illustrating my

good fortune that I had, and through no fault of my own, nor merit of my own, having the name Bible always helped, and the colored minister, colored bishop, would always say, "And now we want to introduce to you, Alan Bible," and when he used the word Bible, the entire audience would say, "Aaamen! Hallelujah!" And I knew right then and there, that the response that came, not because of me, but because of my name that I would never have too much trouble in Westside Vegas, and I never did.

Even though some of them may have questioned my vote on some of the issues that came up; nevertheless, I'm sure the name that I bore with pride, did try to bear it with pride, was of great help to me securing their vote. I tell that simply because it's a true story, and it's one that illustrates some of the factors that go into being a success at the polls.

## THE 1960s

Nineteen sixty-three was a particularly interesting as well as historic year in the United States Senate. The Test Site was moving forward at an increased pace of activity, with more and more nuclear tests which are subject to discussion as of this moment.

Probably the outstanding event of that year was President JFK came to Las Vegas, and spoke before what the papers estimated was a crowd of some eight thousand people in the convention center in Las Vegas. It was just a short time after that, I don't remember exactly how long, but probably within a month, he was in Dallas, Texas and was assassinated. So there in a period of less than—about a month, he had been visiting the state of Nevada, of which he was tremendously fond. He spent many, many months in the way of total time, in the state of Nevada over his entire life. It was just ironic that here the man who had

been supported rather wholeheartedly by the voters of the state of Nevada was in the state just a month before he met the assassin's bullet. It was one of the tragic events of this century, actually. There had been too many assassinations, and this one here was no exception to the pall of gloom, and doubt, and worry that it cast over the nation.

I was in the Senate chambers when the word came in over the teletype about his being shot by the assassin, and work, needless to say, just came to a complete standstill, and there was silent prayers, and oral prayers for his recovery by all of our members. There was no political partisanship at that particular time, and of course, he died shortly afterwards, and then there was the flight back to Washington, the funeral, which was as somber and as heartrending as any service I've ever attended in my entire life.

One little footnote on it that is of some interest. The Shah was there, with all of his regalia. I remarked many, many times I have never seen a man with such a military bearing stand as erect as he did without moving through the entire and lengthy service in the rotunda of the Capitol. Now, here in 1979 he is a discredited Shah, probably being sought after by his people, where at the time he was supreme and was greatly admired; today apparently is being sought for trial and if caught, and tried, will probably—eventual death, if that is the pattern. If it follows the pattern that has already been set in that terror-stricken part of the world. It is almost impossible for us here in America to realize the extent that the Iranians have gone in trying to purge their former leaders. And that does include, of course, the Shah. I don't know if they know where he is now or not, but I have said many times that my great impression of him (I have met him—I don't know him, never knew

him, actually, but I did observe him), and again, a man of great military bearing, and a very impressive person that you would note no matter where you were. And in 1979, it is ironic that his fortunes have completely turned around, and such is the history of the rulers of most of the European nations. I doubt that many people had any inkling of the serious trouble that he was to face in the future in Iran.

The inauguration of LBJ was another somber occasion, and I saw him sworn into the presidency of the United States. A very dear personal friend. A man with whom I had worked very closely and intimately during the time that he was the majority leader of United States Senate. I have often said that I believe history would write him one of, if not the greatest majority leader of the United States Senate that this nation has ever had. His tour and his tenure as president of the United States didn't match his performance as majority leader, probably, due to the fact that he inherited the Vietnam War. He followed a strict line of—he followed the military recommendations and suggestions of how it should be fought, and of course, that was one of the tragic mistakes that this nation has made, and many of us in following the president's lead in that area, probably made in retrospect.

Two of the men I have always admired the most were Wayne Morse of Oregon, "the tiger of the Senate," aptly called, and Ernest Gruening of Alaska, because they were the only two United States Senators who voted against the [Gulf of] Tonkin resolution, which is generally conceded by historians and military people alike, as the resolution that really projected the United States into the Vietnam War. Because that is what it was. There was never a declaration of war. It was a war nevertheless.

As the years progressed and as the casualty list grew larger and larger, and the loss of lives, the tremendous expense, more and more people joined with the two early Senators who had said that this was a wrong thing for the United States to do. They, at that time, they certainly were almost a cry in the wilderness. And it wasn't until we had progressed into the war, with its tremendous cost, that others of us realized what an error we had made.

I'm frank to say that I was one who supported the president, and supported his philosophy and theories of Vietnam, and it's a vote obviously that I have very much regretted in subsequent years. But that is behind us now, and a tremendous loss of prestige to the United States as well as the cost in manpower and in dollars, and I simply mention that by way of trying to pay a deserved tribute to two very fine United States Senators who voted their convictions.

Ernest Gruening was a study in himself. He was a doctor. He was graduated from Harvard Medical School. He didn't follow medicine. He had a great desire to go West, and he went early in life, went to Alaska to become its delegate—one of the leaders in the fight for Alaska statehood; then was subsequently rewarded by being elected as a United States Senator. He was a gracious man. A very, very intelligent man. A man who I was very proud to class as one of my very dear friends.

Likewise, Wayne Morse, who was really the "tiger of the Senate," and has been variously pictured, probably the only United States Senator who started out as a Republican, left the Republican party to form his own party—the Independent party, and left the Independent party, to join Democrats at the urging of majority leader, Lyndon Johnson, who needed his vote in the close margin that

President Johnson had in his early years, as the majority leader of the U.S. Senate.

And of course, Wayne Morse, many stories have been told about him. He was always a gentleman on the floor. He was a ruthless and difficult and hard debater. He held the filibuster record of the United States Senate for many years, and I think that was something in the neighborhood of something like twenty-two or twenty-three hours, uninterrupted. It was later on broken Strom Thurmond, the U.S. Senator from South Carolina, who I think had one interruption during the entire time he spoke.

If I recall correctly my historical facts and my own knowledge, I was at the filibuster conducted by Strom Thurmond; I was not there for the filibuster by which Wayne Morse set his record. But they were the two filibuster champs, in modern times of the United States Senate. I knew both of them very well, considered them both very close friends.

Wayne Morse, as I said earlier was a gentleman, and he always gave you warning when he was about to make a long talk. He always wore a red rose in the lapel of his coat, and that was a signal that he was going to talk at length. He usually used this on weekends, or coming into a weekend, on a Thursday or Friday, because, actually if he could get what we called a unanimous consent agreement, then they would recess over until a Monday. That was really to accommodate him so that he could go back to Oregon and do some campaigning. He used that time and time again. And they tested him several times, and when they tested him, he just kept talking. Once he was recognized they simply couldn't do anything, except adjourn. And finally they learned when that red rose was there, he meant what he was saying, and that he would talk and prevent transaction of any business.

His primary purpose, on many occasions, not all occasions but on many occasions, was to work out an accommodation with the leadership so that he could go back to Oregon and be sure that no business would be transacted on the floor of the Senate. And having learned that he meant what he said, the leadership got so they respected it. And when the red rose was in evidence on a Thursday or a Friday, or late in the week, the leadership would simply bow to his request and would recess over those days. There was considerable criticism of this, but as a practical matter, once he obtained the floor, there wasn't a way in the world that you could take him off his feet, other than by staying there until he finished his speech. So it worked time and time again.

He had relatives in the state of Nevada. His wife's sister was a lady connected with the Department of Education of Carson City, a Mrs. Eif—very active in lodge work. She was the sister of Mrs. Wayne Morse, and the Senator's wife, as well as the Senator himself, made frequent visits to the state of Nevada.

So, he was controversial, he was bombastic but he was a brilliant man, and he had great foresight, as I said earlier, on the Vietnam situation.

I think while I'm mentioning Strom Thurmond, I also ought to pay tribute to him in a different direction. Senator Strom Thurmond and I went into the United States Senate at the same time. He was married to a very beautiful young lady, who had previously served as his personal secretary while he was governor of South Carolina. Unfortunately, she contracted cancer and died at a very young age. He was sixty-eight when again married, and he married the Miss America, or Miss South Carolina of that particular time. When he married he was sixty-eight years of age. She was twenty-four or twenty-five,

something of that range, and it has been a marvel for those of us who are approaching the sixty-eight, sixty-nine, and seventy period of life, to salute this man from South Carolina, because he didn't marry until he was sixty-eight and he is still alive and going strong and has had four children.

And so, this we consider one of the marvels of the day. He was a great physical culturist. I've forgotten the number of pushups and pullups, and the various exercises he takes. He's a teetotaler. He's in about as perfect physical condition as any man I've ever seen, and on several occasions, he would be challenged by someone who wanted to test his physical strength, and they usually lost out.

One instance comes to mind, is the Senator from Texas, Ralph Yarborough, who was the junior Senator when Lyndon Johnson was the senior Senator from that state, became engaged in some kind of a misunderstanding, or difference of opinion, and so Senator Yarborough challenged Strom Thurmond to rassle it out. Strom Thurmond accepted it and rather reluctantly; he didn't want to do it, but Ralph Yarborough, [who] was a much larger, a much younger man, persisted, so Strom Thurmond accepted the challenge. It was only just a matter of a few seconds that Strom Thurmond pinned Senator Yarborough on the floor.

I don't know if that received much publicity. They tried to hush it up pretty well. It was not a thing that two dignified U.S. Senators would brag about very much, but it actually occurred, and occurred in a committee hearing in the new Senate office building. So I just relate that as some of the personal incidents that you can run into with some of your colleagues.

Returning now to 1966. With a new president, the legislation that I was primarily interested in during that period of time was

my geothermal legislation. I had pioneered this in the United States Senate, thinking that this was a great source of power, and there should be laws written and enacted that would permit those who were interested in producing electric energy to go in and make claims to the geothermal steam, particularly in the vast public domains that we have in the West. And it was rather an uphill fight. There wasn't too much interest at that time, but finally enacted into law, and I think it serves a good purpose in giving to an energy-starved nation, another potential source, an actual proven source, of electric energy.

One of the best examples, one that increased my interest in the entire subject, may be found in the geysers in northern California, in the area not too far away from Geyserville; there has been developed geothermal steam that is developed privately, and in turn sold to Pacific Gas and Electric. It has proven a continuous source of steam necessary to turn the turbines that in turn generate electric energy, and supply a fair percentage of the power that is generated in that particular section of the country. And it is fed into the vast Pacific Gas and Electric system, to help them meet their power demands. I think it still has some great, great possibilities.

It was in 1968 that I announced that young Mike Sloan was going to head up my Las Vegas office, and I had said earlier that I recognized that Las Vegas and Clark County deserved more congressional assistance. Among the many proteges that I've had work with me during some twenty years in Washington, D.C., Mike Sloan has made a great name for himself. First, under a city election, he was elected to office there, in that particular capacity, I think it was the city attorney, and then more recently, he has been, was elected as state senator, and is

now serving in the state legislature in that capacity.

I mention his name because he's typical of one of the many, many people that worked either directly in my office or under my patronage during some twenty years. And I have been told by my staff that over that twenty years, we were able to help one hundred Nevada boys and girls secure largely legal degrees, not exclusively that way; we had some that were dentists and some that were doctors, but primarily lawyers who came back into the state and are scattered throughout the state in various legal capacities either as district attorneys or as judges or as practicing lawyers.

I rather followed my predecessor's footsteps in that regard, because Pat McCarran was my sponsor and I worked under him when I worked my way through law school. In turn, I tried to carry on that tradition, and it's one of the elements of pride that you have in trying to help people secure the education that sometimes became very difficult to acquire because of the finances involved. And they worked and they did a good job of their work, but they also had the opportunity of studying part time. It was a rewarding part of a Senator's life, and I took great pride in that and am very proud of the people who have been produced through that means.

It was during that period of time that crime, which seems to be with us forever, was very prominent. I was on the D.C. committee that perfected the first model of what we thought would be the first model of crime bill. It was designed to help stamp out crime. Obviously it didn't accomplish that. We always chose to think that it made it a little more difficult on the criminal and a little easier for the courts and the juries to convict. It was used as a model in many places around the nation, and it was a contribution, albeit too weak to have completely stamped

out the crime problem, which today, to me, seems to be growing rather than receding. But the legislation is there, it is a never ending problem, and no one has the perfect solution.

By way of a sideline, back in 1968 as a member of the Appropriations Committee on labor, health, education and welfare (it's in my scrapbooks), I had my picture taken with a Dr. Barnard who has just performed his first heart transplant, and since then has attained worldwide fame. He was appearing before our appropriations committee that dealt with diseases, and dealt with cancer, and dealt with heart problems, dealt with transplants and things of that kind. I simply note that because of the subsequent fame and medical recognition that he has received.

It was always a particular pleasure to welcome various groups to the Congress of the United States, and we were annually visited, not myself alone, but all of the congressional group, by our Masonic leaders and by our Catholic leaders, by our various fraternal groups; and during the time that I was in the U.S. Senate and became the senior Senator, I always tried to work out a close working relationship with my colleague, Howard Cannon, and with our congressman, Walter Baring, so we tried, as a trio, to be a team representing Nevada. There were differences among us, obviously. I think there always will be differences where you have men and legislators involved. But, certainly in attempting to make visiting Nevadans feel at home when they came into the nation's capital, there was no difference in opinion between any of us, and we did give many, many luncheons designed to make the person from Wabuska, or Tonopah, or Elko, or anywhere around the state, feel more and more at home. That is a practice that we followed very carefully and very thoroughly. And it was a rewarding experience. Obviously,

it was very good politics, and obviously, it was of interest to us as individual representatives from the state of Nevada.

I mention that simply because I believe Nevadans have always looked forward to those visits. One of the legends of the U.S. Senate was the famous bean soup, which you could secure in the Senate dining room, and which became so popular at the turn of the century that it was the subject of a congressional resolution. Something to the effect that as long as there was a U.S. Senate, there will always be a Senate bean soup. I believe that resolution was passed in 1908 or '9, or something in that neighborhood, and it has been on the menu ever since that date. So most people, if they have any taste at all for bean soup, usually try that out, to go home, to go back to tell people that they had a bowl of bean soup. Just a little sidelight that occurs to me as we are rambling along.

And we have always have arranged tours. Someone in the office always has been designated to give them a tour of the capitol. Of course they have the regular guided tours. We thought that this needed a little additional, personal attention, and it was always number one; you're always happy to see people from back home, even though you can't spend as much time with them as you would like, and as they would like. But in addition, and again repeating, just plain good politics, because you might see them back home when you are on the campaign trail, and generally they will be for you. So it's an advantage that an incumbent has had. The incumbent Senators and congressmen from our state, as well as other states have a distinctive advantage, because of opportunities like that that are available to everybody.

So that is one thing I make comment on. Another tool that was always very helpful to me was the newsletter, because we came out

with newsletters, as I recall it, four times a year, and with very broad mailing list that went to voters in the state of Nevada. This gave you not only a means of communicating your own philosophy and your own thoughts, but establishing a rapport with people back home.

It was amazing for me to find out in my early years of using a newsletter, and shortly after I went back there in 1954, that back on the campaign trail I'd find many, many people who would tell me that was just about the only letter they received was the newsletter. And again, this established a fine relationship with your constituency. Certainly is true that when you reveal your program and how you voted on this subject or that subject, everybody doesn't agree with you, and so sometimes the newsletter might expose you to negative votes; it's simply because you told people how you're going to vote and it might disagree with their philosophy and the way they would vote. But nevertheless, on balance, even though you are in disagreement, they are happy to hear from you. So that is another tool that is used and a very effective means of building and strengthening your fences, as they say in the trade, for future political encounters.

#### *How about the election of '68?*

Well, I think I won that one pretty handily, too. That was about as difficult an election—Ed Fike was a very fine opponent, and a very interesting young man, but I had had the benefit of considerable seniority and just ran on my record, which I always tried to do. I always attempted, in political campaigns, just to ignore my opponent and just point out what I had done. In the Ed Fike campaign (which I guess was my last campaign, wasn't it?), we had a good record to take to the people, and we just stood on that record.

I think that was the campaign where we adopted as our motto (I don't know who thought it up; I know I didn't), but "Nevada is stronger with Bible," and we ran a series of ads that pointed out what I had done in each of the various counties. I think that was the most effective campaigning I ever did, and the results showed that it has its effect, because I did win by a rather large margin.



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## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Over the course of my career, both in the state and in the United States Senate, there were a number of awards made, and I mention them simply to make a record of it and not trying to toot my own horn, which I have always been somewhat reluctant to do, but I did receive the [Charles] Chuck Richey Memorial Award.

Chuck Richey was the dynamic superintendent of the Lake Mead National Recreation Area. He was a career National Park Service man. One of the closest and dearest friends I ever had. He was the pioneer that gave us the inspiration and the guidance to create Lake Mead National Recreation Area. Prior to his interest in it and his interesting others in it, it was run by the Bureau of Reclamation, which had the responsibility of operation Hoover Dam. So the park part of it was a rather a secondary interest and it needed independence, and it needed increased staffing, and it needed increased dollars to build harbors and piers and roads and means of making the entire area more and more accessible to the public.

Chuck Richey recognized this early, and kept working and laboring on it day after day during his entire career, and so in honor of him and the great contributions he made, the people of Boulder and the people of Clark County created a memorial award, in honor of Chuck Richey, who unfortunately has been dead for many years, and I happened to be the first recipient of that award. And I think it was given to me just because I followed Chuck Richey's lead and secured the legislation, had it enacted into law, secured the dollars to implement it, and today it is the outstanding recreation area in the entire United States with probably the second or third highest visitation—I think it's the gateway west, which is area around San Francisco and the Bay Area, I think is about the only truly recreation area which surpasses the Lake Mead area. So I was very, very happy to have a part in that and greatly appreciated the award.

I was named Senator of the Year by the National Federation of Independent Business and that came to me because of my work on the Small Business Committee, of which I

was the chairman, and where we did write some worthwhile legislation; where we had some investigations that revealed some of the abuses in the area of small business.

I received honorary doctorates from my own alma mater of the University of Nevada; from Georgetown Law, where I graduated; from Rider College, which is a New Jersey college, and it was in recognition of my work in the small business field.

The Distinguished Service in Conservation, from the National Wildlife Federation, was one which I prized a great deal because it was given to me by the National Wildlife Federation, and the award was a handsome statuette of a whooping crane, and of course the whooping crane came perilously close to extinction and is now, by correct conservation moves, is now gaining strength and is coming back in its own right.

The Medal of Achievement, which I received from the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, was an award given to me for the work which I had done and by virtue of being the chairman of the National Parks and Recreation Committee and all of the allied problems it had.

The National Education Association Distinguished Service Award was for work which I had done in the field of education and in support of many of their goals. These are awards of which I am proud and ones which I display with great pleasure.

In civic and fraternal affairs, my civic life was very much tied with my political life. My fraternal affairs—at one time or another I think I belonged to practically every lodge in the world; I started out as a Mason and took all of their advanced degrees, with the exception of the Knight Templars. I am a Shriner; I joined the Eagles lodge in Virginia City some forty to forty-five years ago—always enjoyed my work in that lodge. At various times, in

and out, I was a member of the Elks; I was a member of the Moose; and if there are other fraternal organizations, I may very well have been a member of them, too. I was never a member of the Odd Fellows. My father was, and my mother was a Rebekah, which is the women's auxiliary to that, but I did not join the Odd Fellows, or the Rebekahs, though I am a great admirer of their lodge—and have had many, many wonderful and close friends who are members. And now that I've retired, I'm pulling back from lodges that I used to belong to, primarily because I think the dues are getting higher and have become somewhat of a burden.

My fraternal life was tied up pretty much with Lambda Chi Alpha, a social fraternity, a national here at the University of Nevada, preceded by a local called Kappa Lambda. And I was very active in that, during my undergraduate days, and have since tried to be of help to the fraternity, and I think it is a very fine fraternity.

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Anyone in political life must, of necessity, have a great helpmate. And I had that in my wife, and I am glad to note that this year we will be celebrating our fortieth anniversary. We have four children and six grandchildren; and I felt so tremendously pleased, back in 1962 the U.S. Navy saw fit to recognize her and to christen one of their naval ships the U.S.S. *Goldsborough*, which had a tremendous record of combat duty. It was one of the lesser members of the naval fleet of the United States, and they christened it and honored her by asking her to make her name a part of that ship, and this was done in 1962. She donated a tea service, or something of that kind to the ship, and the ship will always bear her name, as a part of that ship, after

the christening. And this was an honor that she very well deserved. And raising four children and telling their children how to raise their children was all part of a strong and helpful helpmate, and I am sure that my success, whatever it may have been, would not have been possible without her strong and continuing influence of her help.

During campaign time, that was even increased. Many times she went door-to-door as people in Nevada used to demand. Maybe they still demand it, but it is a little harder to, and she did that for me in many areas, and I am sure she got more votes for me than any one person, and I salute her in this little tribute.

\* \* \* \* \*

I think I would say that I seemed to have been destined or predestined, or whatever for a political career. My first encounter with it was in debating back in fifth grade in grammar school on two very, very momentous questions of the day that were discussed by fifth graders in the Oats Park grammar school at Fallon, Nevada. The first question that we had and discussed and debated was whether Abraham Lincoln was a greater man than George Washington, which I am sure was earth rending, and was of great importance and I am sure has never been resolved, nor ever will be resolved. As fifth graders, we thought it could be.

The next question, and an equally momentous one, was whether a dog is a greater friend of man than a horse, and which was the more valuable. So I suppose in—my actual debate started even in the fifth grade in grammar, and there was something that indicated that I might follow that through. Suffice it to say that during my days in Churchill County High School, from nineteen

hundred twenty-two to nineteen hundred twenty-six, I was on the debate team, coached by one of the greatest professors I've ever had, George E. McCracken, and we there debated other high schools in the state, and on probably more earthly questions. I was president of one of the classes during that period of time, and I was the student body president at Churchill County High School in nineteen hundred and twenty-six.

I suppose all of this rather pointed me down a political path, and then I worked in Washington—worked first as an elevator operator in the Capitol and was promoted to work on the floor of the United States Capitol. I worked on the floor of the Capitol with such giants as Bill Borah; George Norris of Nebraska; Walter George of Georgia; Arthur Vandenburg of Michigan; Senators from their respective states. And one of the greatest of all the men that I heard during that period of time was one of the most famous and that was Huey Long of Louisiana, and he was a tremendous orator. And he was, and this is absolutely true, this antedated television, and as the word got that Huey Long was about to make a speech, the gallery seats were at a premium because he was better than any show, any entertainment that you could get anywhere that I know of, and so I grew up in that environment. And I came west and ran Senator McCarran's law office for several years; then the vacancy opened up in Virginia City, and I became district attorney; and then from there, I became deputy attorney general; and it was during my deputy attorney general days that I made up my mind to run for attorney general, and I ran for attorney general against Bill Mathews, who was the senior deputy in my office. And I managed to win the primary and win the attorney general's race and I think there I "crossed the Rubicon," as they say because I was so

involved in politics, there wasn't much other way I could turn.

Though during my days as deputy attorney general, Howard Gray, who preceded me in that office, was hired by Kennecott and went to Ely, where he established a very thriving law practice. For many years until his death, he was chief lawyer for Kennecott Copper Company, and he urged me to join him—leave the attorney general's office and come to Ely and practice law there with him. Now had I made that choice, undoubtedly I would have continued in the private practice of law and have severed my connections with politics, but I didn't do it that way. I went on, ran for attorney general, was elected twice, and then I was defeated by Tom Mechling. I licked my wounds; two years later Senator McCarran died, another opportunity came up and I ran for that, and for better or worse I was elected to the United States Senate, had many misgivings and after two years, said I'd return to private life. Again I was persuaded to get back into the political world, and acceded to those demands, and was in the political world for some twenty years. So I guess, as I say, if my predestination or destination, or whatever, it was my lot in life to become a politician and to be of service to people in the state.

I always had one guiding rule, which I hope I more or less met, and that was trying to help people. And that was the greatest satisfaction I ever had was trying to help people, whether it was to secure employment, whether it was to get to law school, whether it was to help a community in improving its position, I always took great pleasure in that—a very sincere and honest pleasure, so whatever reward I have in life, it's one purely and simply in trying to help people make for themselves a little better their lot in life. If I have accomplished that in a few little places

here and there, my choice in going into politics was well worthwhile.

I have always made a reasonable amount of money. Money was never my main goal in life, wasn't then, it isn't now, and of course, from here on out, it never will be, but I was just satisfied to get the big reward out of having people drop you a note and saying "thank you" for something you tried to do for them.

And that was true of communities and I think I could document the various things I've done for many areas in the state of Nevada. And then of course, as my larger responsibilities came about, particularly in the fields of parks and recreation areas, development of our natural resources, I can look all around the United States and see some evidence where I may have left a little imprint. If so, then my choice to become a politician is one of which I'm proud.

*How well have you adjusted, and how do you like teaching at the University?*

I like it very much. I've always enjoyed working with young people—always had young people around me. And there is no substitute for some real intelligent and sharp young men and women querying you about why did you do this or why did you do that. How did you vote on this and how did you vote on that? I find that immensely stimulating, and I really do enjoy it.

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## ORIGINAL INDEX: FOR REFERENCE ONLY

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